

DON'S
DIARY

TUESDAY

No day is typical in a contract researcher's life. I am staying with a friend at the opposite end of the country on the way home from a conference, intending to write a book review and finish correcting a chapter after I have given a class for social history students on the problems of studying women's history. The car starts (to our surprise) and I go to meet a small group as the imported "expert".

I feel rather uncomfortable and inept, especially when a student produces a tape recorder for my (undoubtedly) words of wisdom. I give a brief introductory talk and then try to get them to appreciate some of the problems by a discussion of cases and handouts. I am surprised that the class goes quickly and grateful that years as a tutor with the Open University give a certain capacity to teach people that one will never see again.

I am sad that the friendly atmosphere of staff and student meeting informally was considerably less than I remembered in this same university a few years ago. The staff are getting older, the entering more expensive and the old visions of community diluted by economic necessity.

WEDNESDAY

I travel with commuters to London where I meet AUT colleagues. My knowledge of London pubs, gained through having spent many weeks working in archives and libraries there, is put to good use at lunchtime and we arrive refreshed outside Parliament to lobby MPs about the cuts in university funding.

I am extremely frightened as I have never addressed an MP before. We have been assigned, in small groups, to particular MPs. As we wait to be called, I am convinced I shall dry up - but also determined to say something sensible about research staff on short-term contracts, not getting enough attention. They do make up over a quarter of academic staff.

We go in past the shivering public, perhaps a little smugly at getting out of the cold, and wait for "our" MP in the central lobby. He takes us to tea; we talk about student numbers, library facilities, the special problems of Scottish universities, the erosion of tradition and research.

We see another MP and make our points again. The day is not wasted either, although I suspect that we are preaching this time to the converted. Other groups later report less sympathy from other MPs, including the one whose constituency we live in.

But I have stood up and been counted among those who wish to protest about destructive cuts, not just because they threaten my way of life but because of the damage they do to education and to the future.

From Westminster I walk to my old college along the Embankment. I walked here once with someone I loved and I feel sad. Loss of love, of prospects, of validity is painful, and the loss to some universities of their old hopes and ambitions seems like my own personal sorrow as I walk here.

But some places retain their bright lights and I meet friends at the LSE, and talk twice as fast as usual about my work, my book and my prospects. Dinner with other friends, the sleeper home and the car starts at the station, despite snow and frost.

THURSDAY

In the course of my present research I have spent quite lengthy periods of time away from home, collecting evidence about consumer behaviour and the ownership of household goods. I have always found it hard to return. Today is no exception. I find disappointments in the mail; one cherished scheme to work on a

project about family health is rejected by a grant-awarding body. I feel numb and sick all day. I would like to have done the work and it means that I now have to decide what to do when my present funding runs out at the end of next month. It is an example of the waste involved in this kind of thing, for I spent several weeks in preliminary investigations for this rejected proposal. I feel demoralized and depressed - why should they refuse in two lines what had taken me so long to write and submit?

So instead of setting to work on several essential pieces of writing, I try to swallow my upset. I seek out supportive friends, hoping I will not cry. A quarter of the staff in universities have to face these things every few years, but to be in good company does not remove the distress. Life cannot be lived without grief and problem, and I find my daughter feels the same way about her violin exam, in which she is convinced she played too many wrong notes.

I manage to pull myself together enough to write some letters about illustrations, go to an AUT meeting, talk about autobiography as a literary form, read my out-of-date curriculum vitae and type the book review.

FRIDAY

Today and the weekend are to be days of intellectual endeavour, not psychological upheaval, although we cannot always choose our state of mind. Today I intend to put the future aside and work on the project in hand.

I am distracted by the need to update my cv, send copies to my referees, apply for two posts that I know I will not get. By five o'clock I am at last sitting down to the work that I should have done this morning. I like research and writing and I want to finish my book and the project as a whole before the end of my contract. I listen to Haydn.

SATURDAY

I go to the library and get distracted in reading poetry and job advertisements. I write more letters about illustrations and I hope I am not bothering too many museums and art galleries. In my search for good pictures of 19th century life.

Quite late, I go to a party, where I lie on the floor talking to a young member of staff, mainly about God and reality, music and poetry and whether married women should leave their jobs to move with their husbands. I cuddle a baby and go to bed late.

SUNDAY

I get up later than I should and feel very dozy at tea-time. I type yesterday's revisions into the word processor. I am grateful to the inventor of this equipment, for it means I can revise without total retyping. I hope it is not a trap in which nothing is ever finished - this diary is hand-written - I like a fountain pen. The annual performance of *The Messiah* in the evening reminds me that this small university town has a very strong musical life. The future of the music department in the university is hotly debated; would their departure destroy all this as well, I wonder? Do not go quietly.

MONDAY

I feel the prospect of unemployment more acutely and cannot even find a spare computer terminal. But I continue to revise chapters, decide on illustrations, worry about the future and send for the further particulars of yet more jobs. I do some work on an 18th century account book.

I lunch with a group of women to talk about feminist approaches to scholarship and am encouraged by how interesting the discussion becomes. I have tea with a friend, take the TV to be repaired, collect my children, talk to them, make supper, up, make beds, talk to some friends in the pub for an hour and go to bed. Goodnight ladies, goodnight sweet ladies, goodnight, goodnight.

Lorna Weatherill

The author is a research fellow working in St Andrews on an ESRC-funded project on consumer behaviour and the ownership of household goods. I have always found it hard to return. Today is no exception. I find disappointments in the mail; one cherished scheme to work on a

The truth about admissions

by Peter Aspdon

Tactical plays, double bluffs and careful timing can all be critical considerations in learning how to play "the UCCA game", the Independent Schools Careers Organization claims.

Although universities are keen to stress to prospective students that filling in a form for the Universities Central Council on Admissions is a straightforward business, they admitted at a recent meeting in London that tactics do play a part.

Admissions tutors told members of the Careers Writers' Association that the order of preferences chosen by candidates did make a difference to selection, as did the choice of A level subjects and impressions gleaned from interviews.

Late applications can put candidates at a disadvantage, not because they are

looked on less favourably, but because some university courses might have made all their offers by December 15.

An application may also suffer if it comes in too large a batch - universities are said to prefer a steady stream from October 15 to December 15.

Other universities confirmed some hints which have been common knowledge on the sixth form and parental grapevine for many years: a representative from Kent University said: "It is a waste of time to put us fourth or fifth if you want to read single honours English, but if we published this fact people would think it applied to all subjects and it doesn't."

A delegate from the University of East Anglia said: "If a candidate has a CCC prediction but looks good to us, we may make a BBH offer but accept CCC; at the same time there may be ABB people applying for the same

subject whom we do not want."

Universities, it was emphasized, the tutors, wanted a mix of people: did not want to exclude promising unconventional candidates by making rigid general statements in what was soon become very thick prospectuses.

As for A level subjects, universities said there was no formal black list, new subjects were sometimes "held a distance", until they were convinced they were academically respectable.

Such subjects should establish themselves initially as third A levels - though selectors would still disapprove of controlling an individual decision on an individual selector on the day, "one official from the London School Economics". "If somebody has a 1 against blondes it will affect the 10 this year, probably not next."

ILEA budget trimmed by £30m

by Karen Gold

The Inner London Education Authority faces a £30 million cut in its 1986/87 spending and a shortfall of over £100 million in the amount it says it needs to sustain London's education service.

ILEA applied to Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education and Science, to increase its Government-permitted spending target for next year from £902 million to £1,025 million. This year it will spend £945 million.

But Sir Keith has allowed the authority only a £13 million rise to £958 million with which ILEA must make a budget by March. That is £30 million less than this year, as well as £110 million less than the authority says it needs.

The amount the authority is allowed by the Government to raise in rates was due to be announced in Parliament this week. One of the authority's arguments for more money was to enable it to take over services it currently receives from the Greater London Council, to be abolished on April 1, 1986.

But Sir Keith said ILEA administration costs were too high, higher than other local education authorities, and should not increase by more than £7.5 million when the GLC goes - compared with over £20 million which ILEA says the OLC abolition will cost it.

New grant rates

This table shows the contribution parents are demanded to make towards their children's maintenance award for 1986/87 (this year's figures in brackets). The thresholds have been increased by 7.5 per cent in line with earnings.

RESIDUAL INCOME	CONTRIBUTION
£ 8,100	—
8,700	20 (20)
9,000	62 (62)
10,000	205 (205)
11,000	348 (348)
11,100	362 (362)
12,000	542 (542)
13,000	742 (742)
14,000	942 (942)
15,000	1,142 (1,142)
16,000	1,342 (1,342)
17,000	1,542 (1,542)
22,000	2,832 (2,832)
23,000	3,082 (3,082)
25,000	3,582 (3,582)
28,000	4,300 (4,300)

contribution rates change

SERC pinpoints 'dangerously low' funding

The Science and Engineering Research Council, in its first corporate plan published this week, identifies no less than 22 growth areas in science which are underfunded. But the plan gives little hint how money can be found to back these areas adequately, beyond recording the council's ambition to redeploy £18 million over the next five years.

The plan also identifies "a crisis in equipment provision" in the fields of electronics and argues it needs at least £10 million a year extra to equip researchers with state of the art laboratories.

All five research councils are now required to produce corporate plans for the Advisory Board for the Research Councils, and three have now



A case of arm and hand for a student of Ruskin College, Oxford, coming under close scrutiny from one of the Oxford school Christmas party for handicapped children.

Sharp words as... calls for more indignation

by Owen Surridge

Mrs Shirley Williams, president of the Social Democratic Party has said higher education faces more fundamental problems than financial stringency.

She told a conference of Higher Education International in London last week: "The challenge to higher education is whether anybody can longer believes in the ideal of a liberal education. Higher education has lost its confidence and no longer represents itself as essential to civilized life."

Calling on those in higher education to abandon cultural gentility, Mrs Williams said: "Universities and polytechnics must say much more strongly what they are about and say it matter. You do not speak out so loudly as you should." Referring to financial cuts and the haste for change she asked: "Where is the voice of indignation?"

She also attacked higher education for failing to recognize the revolution which would be brought about by distance learning techniques and educational technology. In the United States, she said, educationists realized the potential for the self fulfilment in that revolution but in Europe they were still obsessed with formal routes and qualifications.

She urged universities and

polytechnics to use the new artefacts which themselves into a galaxy of help those without formal qualifications to use higher education to develop fresh energy to their lives.

International mobility of students could be greatly helped, according to Sir Roy Marshall, former vice-chancellor of Hull University, by simple administrative adjustments which did not fall foul of major political issues. Special travel sessions should be arranged to offset high fares, he told the conference, and variations in entry qualifications could be eased by more cooperation between institutions.

Large, unpredictable increases in fees and other costs could be avoided, they were set for the duration of courses instead of a year at a time. Restrictions on part-time employment could be abolished for students at courses.

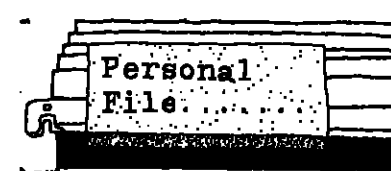
The problems caused by high fees for students from overseas remained and were unlikely to be very much altered by some of the schemes introduced by the Government to ease the situation. Cuts imposed to reduce public expenditure were likely to exacerbate difficulties, where institutions decided to cut back on plans for home students in pursuit of overseas students and their higher fees.

switched, beyond saying council had produced a model for achieving its goal, rather than a detailed set of solutions.

The nearest the plan comes to distinguishing priorities is in identifying work under the engineering and science boards, and research on interdisciplinary topics as "among the fields in which adequate underlying research is not being pursued". But the report adds immediately that this does not mean astronomy and high energy and nuclear physics do not also deserve extra funds.

Science and Engineering Research Council corporate plan, Swindon.

City gent plays government inspector



by Karen Gold

Her Majesty's Inspectorate is about to take on a city gentleman, Stephen Jones, who four years ago left the Department of Education and Science for the City of London Polytechnic, is to return there to work for HMI.

Mr Jones, 41, is continuing a peculiar personal tradition of following the present occupant of the HMI job, Clive Booth, Dr Booth, who becomes director of Oxford Polytechnic on January 1, worked in the private office of Mrs Shirley Williams when she was Secretary of State for Education.

Followed by Mr Jones, Dr Booth went off to be an assistant polytechnic director - at Plymouth. Mr Jones, with a small detour via another DES job, went as assistant provost to City.

Dr Booth returned to a new job at HMI, dealing with public sector higher education: in effect the inspectorate's voice and adviser on the National Advisory Body, the Council for National Academic Awards and similar bodies. Mr Jones will carry on with that.

The resemblance may stop there, he says: he is not at all sure he would want to be a polytechnic director. He is less of an academic than Booth, and more



Stephen Jones: more administrator than academic

of a career administrator - first in the Ministry of Defence, and then in the University Grants Committee and the DES.

At City he dealt with staff, management systems, and the National Advisory Body. That put him on the receiving end of his own past planning: for five years ago the name Stephen Jones was synonymous with attempts to rationalize the distribution of the advanced further education pool and the

formation of the NAB. The group working on the pool was known as the "Stephen Jones group", and was run, according to its past members, with the gentlemanly tact and humour generally associated with Mr Jones. Representatives of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education recall the first occasion they were summoned to the DES for an explanation of how the new pool system would work.

His discomfort, not to be over-emphasized, was that of the traditional civil servant - the kind of man whose hobby is singing baritone in various choral societies - faced with pressure for a new style service. It was shared by at least one of his political masters: William Waldegrave, the former under secretary for higher education, and similarly urbane, regretted the department was losing him.

There were plenty of bright people still around, Waldegrave was heard to say, but the department had lost the human touch with Stephen Jones.

Lecturer who quit loses case

A college lecturer who resigned "in order to safeguard against possible dismissal" has lost his case against a university in Dundee.

The tribunal ruled that although Dr Donald Beckwith found that his job at Dundee College of Technology did not live up to his expectations, that was not his employers' fault.

Dr Beckwith, who has held various academic posts in the United States, had been appointed senior lecturer in education technology at the college in January 1982, the tribunal heard.

The post was a new one in the college's centre for educational development and the job specification stated that, among other principal duties, the successful applicant would be expected to help develop new diploma and degree courses, to continue with personal research work and to supervise research students.

However, mainly owing to financial constraints, a number of the developments planned by the centre had not been realized. Efforts to attract research students had been unsuccessful and new courses, planned in collaboration with a centre for educational technology in Egypt, had not got off the ground.

Dr Beckwith told the tribunal that, in his view, the job he had applied for "had never materialized".

Last May he wrote to the college authorities asking for a year's unpaid leave of absence to undertake research work which, he said, was essential to his "continued professional well-being and academic development". Although Dr Beckwith warned that if leave of absence was refused he would be forced to resign "in order to safeguard against professional atrophy", the request was turned down.

In June, Dr Beckwith informed his employers that they had constructively dismissed him and three months later he took up a temporary post as visiting assistant professor of education at a university in North America.

The tribunal ruled that there was no question of unfair dismissal and rejected Dr Beckwith's claim.

Correction

In the first article of our women's studies special feature last week, the author's name was inadvertently omitted. "Raised voices in an unjust world" should have been credited to June Purvis, senior lecturer in educational studies at Oxford Polytechnic. We apologize for the mistake.

Thatcher compared to Third Reich

by Peter Aspdon

London University's senate has passed a motion deploring the Government's "narrow and wholly mercenary attitude" towards universities, which it said "endangers the essential link between teaching and research."

The motion, which was moved by Dr Geoffrey Alderman, called for measures to widen access to higher education, particularly by expending adult and continuing education. Thousands of well-qualified young people were being unfairly denied a university education, it said.

Dr Alderman, in a strongly worded speech to the senate, compared the Prime Minister's attitude to universities today to that of the German authorities during the years of the Third Reich, accusing her of contempt for the promotion of basic research and universities' work in the human

The universities of the United Kingdom are having to confront a Government whose policies towards higher education begin and end with exploitation for narrow dogmatic ends," he said.

Referring to the Green Paper, he added: "The entire philosophy of this infamous document is that the purpose of the university system is to serve the economic plans and - something which I personally find even more sinister - the social purposes of the government of the day."

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Unions sense sympathy for claim to end manual low pay

by David Jobbins

Union negotiators believe that university employers plan to treat manual staff as a special case for a second year running.

They emerged from preliminary talks with the employers relieved that the management did not respond to the substantial pay claim by claiming they had met the arguments on low pay in 1985.

But they made no reference to the 1985 settlement, although union negotiators were reminded of the parlous state of university finances likely in 1986.

The claim, which will be submitted in full in the new year, is for a substantial increase on all grades leading to two thirds of the national average wage.

But the heavy cost for the vice chancellors lies in the second main part - abolition of the two bottom grades on which more than half the manual staff employed in universities are concentrated.

In line with the deal with local government manual workers, with whom the university staff are closely comparable, this would mean a considerable boost in salary for the lowest paid, with the current grade three becoming the lowest grade.

On current rates the effect would be to increase the rates for the two lowest grades of £76.30 and £77.40 a week to £79.20.

The university employers agreed pay rises worth up to 6.7 per cent for manual workers this year while holding other groups to 4 per cent. Only one other group, the technicians, has settled for 5.25 per cent.

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Britain takes the plunge on ocean drilling

by David Jobbins

Britain has finally applied to join the International Ocean Drilling Programme after more than a year of domestic negotiations to try to raise the £1.8 million subscription.

The Natural Environment Research Council will put £1 million a year into the programme from now on, and the rest of the cash will come from Government departments and the oil industry.

The relative balance of the last two contributions was settled only after prolonged wrangling which cost Britain participation in the first year of the programme, a planned six-nation collaboration to explore the geology of the deep ocean floor over the next 10 years.

The Government decided to make the programme a test of industry's willingness to back strategic research projects normally funded from the public sector. But even now the six oil companies joining the British consortium - BP, British, Burrell, Enterprise, Shell UK and Tricentrol - will put in only £250,000 a year between them, or 14 per cent of the total.

The Department of Energy has agreed to pay 20 per cent of the subscription, and the rest will come from the departments of Environment and Trade and Industry.

As Britain's candidate membership of the programme lapsed this autumn while negotiations dragged on, the NERC secretary Dr John Bowman has written to the US National Science Foundation with a fresh application for UK membership. The application will certainly be accepted, as congressional funding for the US portion of the programme rests on foreign support.

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Sir Keith's tawdry tactics

After two years of prevarication Sir Keith has produced his threatened coup de grâce on tenure. And a pretty graceful thing it is.

He proposes that tenure should go for all new recruits to the profession. His cuts, and the stagnation they have produced, mean this approach will take a long time to percolate through the system. So to add extra bite he proposes to remove the brace of tenure from senior members of the profession in promoted posts. To remove tenure retrospectively produces problems, so instead he has put a dreadful price tag on promotion. If you want to move up, you will be easier to boot out. It's a bit like living in Chicago in Tom Lehrer's song - "if the hoods don't get you, the monoxide will".

On the critical question of academic freedom he gives the three commissioners little help. In effect, he has conveniently washed his hands of responsibility for it. He places that responsibility on universities themselves to produce the procedures that will protect academic freedom once tenure goes. Most of them, of course, have told the University Grants Committee that (like the Association of University Teachers) they believe tenure and good cause are the best way of protecting academic freedom.

Will the commissioners be able to produce something that neither the UGC nor the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals can deliver?

Back in May 1984 Sir Keith queried whether his provisions could contain adequate safeguards to protect academic freedom without rendering them unworkable. The simple answer is that they can't. But Sir Keith has decided to go ahead anyway. He promised academic freedom would be protected. This is another Government promise not worth the paper it was written on.

Tenure did not produce the current imbalance in subjects and in age structure. It was Sir Keith's desire for short-term savings. The Audit Commission's sprinkler blame around a lot, but it is clear that the Government's refusal to heed the advice of the UGC that his 1981 proposals would lead to disorder and disunity. And disorder and looming financial crisis is what we now endure. From this disordered base, Sir Keith expects further cuts to be made.

Morale in most departments of most universities has taken a hefty kick. Sir Keith seems to take perverse delight in putting the boot in when his adversary staggers.

Universities will be a key factor in Britain's recovery but no industrialist would expect to get results while undermining pay, conditions and professional pride. The chairman of the Confederation of British Industry has said there can be no argument for continuing the process of attrition. He meant funding, but it applies with even more force to morale. It is about time Sir Keith woke up to wider responsibilities than cost cutting and professional bickering, though both may be pukka Tory policy.

There are no gains for the Government or for the universities from these tawdry proposals on tenure. If Sir Keith wants vital institutions that can contribute with enthusiasm to economic and social regeneration he

Britain's brain drain is neither a new nor a unique phenomenon. Migration of the country's academic elite from higher education institutions to distant climes has a history stretching back over half a century. Similarly, it is a phenomenon that many politically unstable and less advanced countries have learned to live with as their brightest and best desert home for more stimulating or lucrative environs.

The ebb and flow of human potential from Britain's shores was of minor consequence - until 20 years ago when the scientific community first started voicing concern over the rising transatlantic loss of young PhD students. The phenomenon impacted on the public consciousness as a growing problem and elicited political attention, detailed investigation and considerable media coverage. The 1967 study of a specially commissioned Working Party on Migration under the chairmanship of Dr E. F. Jones reported to government that the problem was real, worsening, and unlikely to be solved by short-term solutions in the form of financial incentives or physical obstacles to mobility. Instead, "a major transformation in the attitude and behaviour of British management and industry would be required" (Hilary and Steven Rose in *Science and Society*).

Since then the topic has bobbed to the surface of debate intermittently as different disciplines noted that the trickle had turned to a flow and as innovative changes opened up new horizons for Britons in North America.

Yet in spite of this heightened awareness, no centrally co-ordinated attempt has been made to monitor either the pace or effect, or to determine the consequences of the drain. The last definitive statistics available from the National Economic Development Council were in 1967 when it was revealed that 8,000 engineers and technologists and 4,000 scientists had left Britain to go abroad. The topic was not one of the best which had gained the attention of the public.

The dearth of evidence and lack of comparative data has made it difficult to evaluate the severity of the drain which a number of academics now view as critical.

Against a backdrop of severe cuts in university spending, and a decline in funding available for research, anecdotal evidence has been used to prop up claims of an intensifying leakage since 1981. This is dangerous from two points of view - it can present a skewed perspective in that instances cited may be specific to the institutions, or else present an inaccurate view of a much larger problem.

But on the basis of evidence collected by the Advisory Board for the Research Councils, the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals, and the Association of University Teachers over the past six months, it appears that British institutions are experiencing a steady hemorrhaging of top academic talent - losing not only their brightest students and post-doctoral researchers but also their most senior staff to UK and US industry and overseas university posts.

What is cause for immediate concern, and has galvanized the Royal Society into conducting a national survey of the situation in five science disciplines, is that the outflow is no longer balanced by an inflow of talent. Top overseas academics may be drawn to British institutions for a year or two, but they are not tempted to stay.

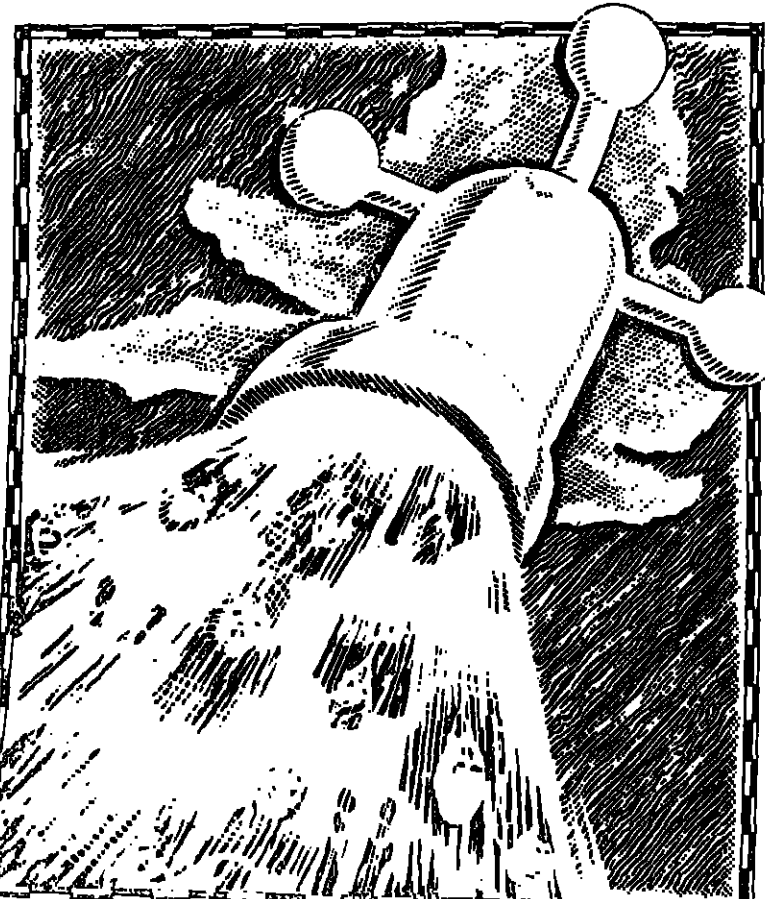
Alarm bells were sounded by the Advisory Board for the Research Councils chairman Sir David Phillips in April when he reported to the Department of Education and Science that the board was under the "firm impression that we are losing our scientists at an increasing rate."

The September report of the ABC's survey of 40 of the country's leading research groups confirmed this view in part. All of the departments questioned, including those that have or are to receive additional funding for equipment as part of the University Grants Committee's 1985/86 or 1986/87 settlement, were worried over the rising numbers of young and senior scientists going overseas.

In the field of chemistry, 19 names of inorganic chemists are given among those who have left the country to live abroad, in addition to seven "outstanding" organic chemists and six "very good" materials scientists. As further evidence that it is the best chemists who are leaving, Royal Society of Chemistry winners of the Meldola, Corday-Morgan and Harrison

Why the brightest and best go West

Better opportunities overseas and a collapse of morale in British universities have resulted in an outflow of academic talent. *The THES* assesses the problem



Sir David Phillips: sounded alarm



Dr John Burnett: gloomy

Memorial prizes over the past five to seven years have been predominantly British-born and working in either Canada or the United States.

Reasons given for the losses in the ABC survey do not differ substantially from those given by departing researchers and academics in the past. In 1967, more opportunities, better pay and prospects, better facilities both in terms of support and in equipment provision, a sense of frustration with the difficulties built into the British system of securing funding and a greater receptiveness of US industry to novel ideas.

British industry also comes in for a fresh round of criticism for not knowing how to recruit, use or reward PhD talent - to hark back to an old theme. The widening technology gap between the US and the UK is highlighted as a new and important spur to the considered drain. Professor Brian Hartley of the biotechnology unit at Imperial College points out that all of his PhD students over the past two years have received job offers before completing their studies, and at least half have taken them up.

In 1983 an Institute of Manpower Studies survey of the biotechnology

brain drain estimated an annual outflow of 1,000 scientists and technologists in 1981/82 and was able to identify 141 UK nationals working overseas in this field. The main location was the USA (46 per cent) with 10 per cent in Switzerland and the remainder spread in 28 different countries.

Many of 250 UK biotechnologists, all qualified at PhD or postdoctoral level, were estimated in the survey to have left the UK since the mid 1970s.

IMS researcher Mr John Pearson plans to update the study over the next few months and anticipates an upward trend in overseas mobility compatible with the continuing demand for top British technologists. "What is clear is that key people are getting jobs overseas, but then it must also be realized that they are in an international market. There has been a lot of emotive response to the brain drain, and not much hard data on it," he commented.

Professor Alan Forsyth, Wolfson Research Fellow of the Royal Society and professor of chemistry at Imperial College, is one of a number of top academics who are piled with attractive offers from US and European firms and universities - part of an aggressive marketing technique which

is finding increasing favour among British industry, which has a traditional anti-intellectual approach, is simply not prepared to go out and do something about the situation," he says.

Professor Eric Ash, rector of Imperial College London, does not believe that the "internal drain" - defined as an absorption by British industry of graduates - is the main cause of the loss of talent. "It is a fierce competition from industry is so fierce, openings are created, promoting career opportunities for young engineers starting out, and I regard that as something healthy," he says.

"The biggest problem is the new lecturer who comes in keen to start on a research enterprise and has his first proposal rejected for lack of funds. It may be 18 months before he can get any funding." This in itself is a tragedy, Professor Ash's view because it is a discouraging waste of talent and potential research success. His answer is to increase the science vote by an additional £200 million, bringing the final figure closer to £700 million. "The kind of economies which the present science vote forces upon us - such as the need to reduce spending on fundamental particle physics - are economies which we cannot afford..." just

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hardest workers who are naturally ambitious." Timothy Wells (23) earns less money now than he did just after passing A levels. As one of Imperial's top PhD chemistry students, he is wedded to a research career but sees the opportunities for pursuing his goals in a British university environment growing slimmer virtually by the day.

"The new blood lectureships are all gone and you see people in post-doctoral research places getting older and that is what is frightening. At Cambridge there were certain experiments we couldn't do because they were too expensive. How can we hope to compete with people who can click their fingers and get what they need?" His peers, several of whom could quite easily have followed successful research careers in either physics or chemistry, turned to accountancy and law instead - a spin-off of the brain drain which could more aptly be titled brain dissipation.

The loss of a few top people in a particular field is held to be equivalent to the loss of a far greater number of scientists of average ability. When this is coupled with the erosion from the ground base, the implications of the current drain for the 1990s take on alarming proportions.

Electronics engineering is another field identified "under threat" in the ABC report. Dr W. I. Milne, professor in engineering at Cambridge University has lost every one of his PhD students overseas over the past two years. Pay, he says, has been the primary motive for leaving although many of the students do intend returning once they have completed a few years of research. Cambridge is more fortunate than most other centres, benefiting as it does from the "Cambridge phenomenon" which encourages academic high-flyers to go into business rather than abroad.

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The name of the game is opportunity

They did not come for the money. If there is one word which runs through the varied motives of academics who remove their brains to the United States and Canada, that word is opportunity - opportunity to work to their full potential.

Take the case of Professor R. Miledi, until last November a leading neuro-biologist at University College, London. Professor Miledi wanted to establish a new laboratory for the study of cellular and molecular neuro-biology but the Royal Society, which was funding his research in England, was unable or unwilling to provide the necessary funds. Worse, he found himself in a losing contest with colleagues in other departments for the money which was available. The status of his research seemed to be declining.

And so, at the age of 56 and after working in London for 26 years, a frustrated Professor Miledi went west. At the Irvine Campus of the University of California he found his talents more greatly appreciated. A new post of "distinguished professor" was created for him, and he now has no complaints about lack of status or research facilities. True, he is still looking for the money for his new laboratory, but in what he describes as "a more positive and lively atmosphere" he is confident that it will come.

Professor Miledi is older than most of the academic immigrants to North America, but his

case is far from unique. Professor Derek Burke had been professor of biological science at Warwick University for 13 years before packing his bags three years ago and heading for Toronto. He was looking for more responsibility and freedom for growth, and he found it as scientific director and vice president of a company working in the expanding field of bio-technology. It was a job, he says, that he could never have got in Britain.

Professor Burke likes it in Toronto, finds the city more culturally satisfying than any provincial centre in England, and freely admits that his decision to move was helped by the increase in salary, though this was not his prime motive. He travels back to England frequently, but has no immediate intention of returning.

Like most of those I talked to, Dr Burke's motives for leaving England were positive rather than negative, but he did allow himself one revealing comment. "The science base is still strong in Britain," he said. "Much stronger than in Canada. But the odd thing is that over there they think that the end of the world has come - a year, like this, and says that if he was looking for a career it would be his first choice. Nevertheless, he will be returning to England at the end of 1986."

"Personal reasons," he explains. "I've got a girl-friend in England." At the age of 25, that can be a very good reason.

William Norris

Almost 8 per cent less of university spending now goes on academic salaries than in the early 1980s.

This dramatic fall reflects partly the exodus of staff after the 1981 cuts when the number of non-clinical academics fell by over 7 per cent and clinicals by nearly 21 per cent.

But it also underlines the way in which salaries have failed to keep up with other indices either for earnings or prices which other areas of university spending have had to cope with.

The Association of University Teachers made much of the "persistent" decline in salaries in its response to the Government's Green Paper, *The Development of Higher Education into the 1990s*.

It recorded that over the past six years, academic and academic related staff salaries had fallen 24 per cent behind the cost of living and 40 per cent behind average earnings.

Not that this is a new problem, rather one that has been increasing in severity over the years. The AUT's submission for its 1984 pay claim said: "While the current reduced rate of inflation slows down the decline in academic salaries, it does not arrest the decline since it does not restore previously lost purchasing power."

According to the AUT, the retail price index rose by 57 per cent between October 1979 and April 1983, while academic and related salaries increased by only 27 per cent.

Worse, university teachers generally fared worse than the rest of the community, let alone their traditional comparators. For average earnings over the same period rose by an estimated 41 per cent, with pay rises in the public sector twice or even three times the figure for university academics.

The blame for the decline rests with the system of cash limits to which the universities have been subjected, with the AUT claiming that the average real wage has been cut by 10 per cent since 1979.

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because so much of the rest of the prospects for the country's prosperity are inextricably tied up with the fate of science.

Professor Ash will confirm that the drain of high quality engineers has increased in recent years. While at University College he lost one professor and two lecturers to industry and believes the transatlantic flow has been made all the easier by the removal of visa hurdles.

The introduction of the new blood lectureship scheme, which created 729 new posts between 1982 and 1985, and the Information Technology Initiative which offered a further 146 posts are given as prime reasons for retention by young scientists, and may even have lured several young Britishers back who would otherwise have settled abroad. However, both schemes came to an end this year, with no prospect of similar initiatives in future.

A disturbing trend uncovered in the Association of University Teachers survey of 30 UK universities was that departments were unable in many instances to fill the vacancies they had successfully bid for under the new blood scheme.

LANCASTER reported "particular difficulty" bringing people into academic work from other fields, eg a British Gas studentship for which there were no British applicants, and a new blood post for which there was only one suitable applicant and he went to Esso. A new blood post in atmospheric chemistry was advertised twice before an appointment could be made. On the first round the only suitable applicant turned down the position because he was already earning £5,000 more with an oil company.

EDINBURGH's department of biochemistry reported that an offer of a "new blood post" had been turned down for a position with the European Molecular Biology Organization in Geneva. NOTTINGHAM sponsored three related posts in the new blood scheme in agricultural and forest meteorology, and in all three cases the posts were only filled after the posts were advertised.

BRUNEL made the following comment: "We are not merely unable to fill certain chairs, but are now actually losing staff because financial rewards

Salary decline and fall in morale

Both sides have recognized the danger - last year's report from Committee A, the first stage of the negotiating machinery, said clearly: "Unless corrective action is taken there is bound in the long run to be a lowering of the quality of academic staff."

The previous year, 1983, the vice chancellors had left Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education and Science, in no doubt about their dilemma.

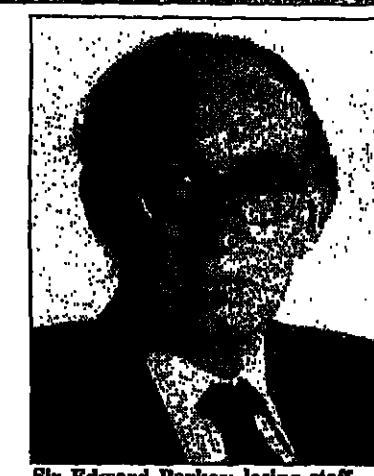
They then chairman, Dr Albert Sloman, wrote: "On the one hand we are constrained to settlements which keep down university salaries in relation to the salaries of those doing similar work elsewhere in the public sector; on the other we are inevitably suffering a steady reduction year by year in the real value of the grants this Government is providing."

This year, the new chairman, Mr Maurice Shock, was even more strident. He told Sir Keith in September: "We are now at a position where, for all groups, informed opinion in the universities is that present levels of pay are falling below what is necessary for the proper staffing of our services..."

"There is a strong feeling that the present position is unjust and worry about the effect which this unsatisfactory state of affairs is bound to have on morale, and on the work and standing, international quite as much as national, of universities."

The Government's view expressed by Sir Keith, was equally forthright. "Factors such as morale must be taken into consideration must be what can be afforded."

"The Government recognize that



Sir Edward Parkes: losing staff

outside are so much greater than those we can offer."

Perhaps more disturbing is the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals survey finding that since 1981, one in seven academic staff have left the British university system.

Ninety-one per cent of those leaving between August 1984 and July 1985 gave salary as the reason for vacating their posts, and of those who left, 37 per cent left the university system entirely, with a further 7 per cent going to an overseas university, and 20 per cent destined for commerce either in the UK or abroad.

Because of the limited timescale of the study, and the questionnaire's focus on recruitment and retention, the drain is not examined in detail. However, a statistical analysis of the findings presented to Secretary of State for Education and Science, Sir Keith Joseph, in October shows one-fifth of all subject vacancies in the period, closely followed by vacancies in clinical medicine, maths and computing, physical science, biological sciences, education, dentistry, architecture, business studies, veterinary science and agriculture.

Dr John Burnett, principal of Edinburgh University and a member of the CVCP delegation which met Sir Keith, is not only pessimistic about current difficulties the university is experiencing in "finding chair-worthy candidates" but is also gloomy about pros-

pects for future graduates carving out an academic career.

"The situation has worsened for two reasons - over the past two years the number of university and polytechnic posts has dramatically declined while on the science and technology front opportunities in industry have mushroomed." The widening interface between higher education and industry has brought its rewards, but has also served to demonstrate to university lecturers what is immediately available, he argues.

In the area of clinical medicine, universities are in danger of losing their best people to the National Health Service because of better conditions of service and prospects of an additional 10 per cent income from private practice earnings. "The loss of university personnel is placing the future of British clinical medical schools in danger and threatens to dry up the whole research machine," says Dr Burnett.

His fears are shared by Professor Peter Bell, professor of surgery at Leicester Royal Infirmary, who recently conducted an informal survey of 10 centres which had advertised for a senior lecturer in surgery. Applications for these posts numbered 55 in comparison to the 500 applications received for NHS consultant posts.

"I don't think the Government has grasped the importance of academic medicine. If parity is not maintained with what the NHS offers, you can kiss goodbye to academic surgery. In five years time, people will turn around and ask what happened to the department of surgery because it won't be there any more. The answer is not to tell the professors to go into private practice, but to restore money and time to research and provide the posts that are necessary to conduct it. It has to be found time for," he added.

Sir Edward Parkes, vice chancellor of Leeds, and also a member of the CVCP delegation to Sir Keith, said he had already lost three professors in applied science and engineering to industry in the course of the year, and would probably be losing another to American industry. "Some areas of dentistry are well high impossible to recruit in," he added. The reason? "Money. It's as simple as that."

By comparison, the university lecturer scale began at £7,520. After a 5.01% increase in 1980, it rose to £7,905 in 1981, £8,383 in 1982, and £8,861 in 1983. The 1984 scale is set at £9,340, a 5.4% increase on 1983.

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Mr Maurice Shock



Dr Albert Sloman

five years a lecturer aged 27 would be earning £8,920, some 10 per cent less than the £9,825 minimum for a police officer of the same age and service.

The AUT too claimed that other groups with whom university lecturers were traditionally compared were faring better, especially the Civil Service, and polytechnic lecturers.

One point of comparison with the Civil Service is between the top of the lecturer scale and the maximum salary for principals. Here the gap widened from 2 per cent in favour of the civil service to 18 per cent in 1983.

Until last year's rises, public sector lecturers' settlements easily outpaced the universities. But in 1984, at the traditional point of comparison alone, the universities fared rather better (see histogram).

The third traditional comparator, academics working in university

medical schools, has become a real problem both for the employers and for the staff organizations.

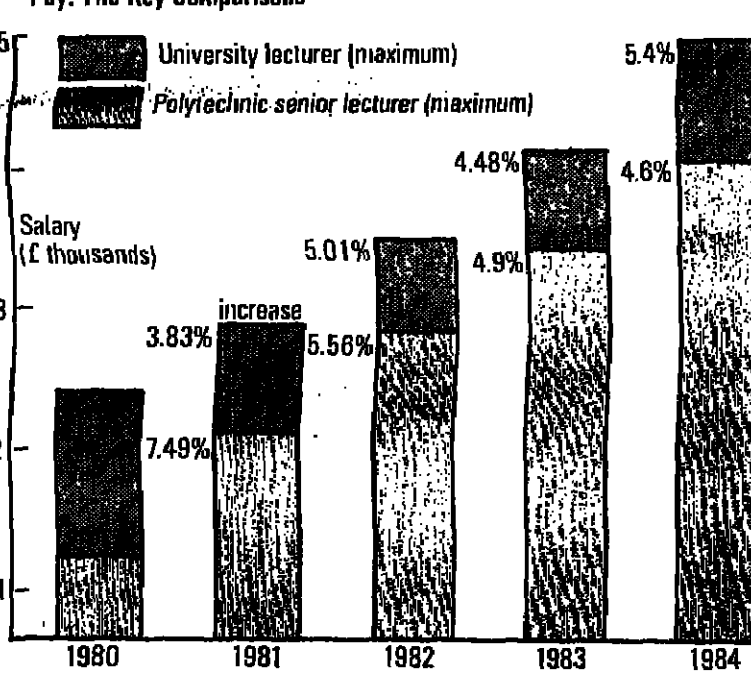
Vice chancellors are deeply worried at the failure of the Government to help them honour the principle of parity between clinical academics and their colleagues in the National Health Service.

In May 1983, Dr Sloman wrote: "The committee (of vice chancellors) discussed this morning the whole question of university salaries and the very serious financial consequences of the present situation."

The passage of time has done nothing to ease his fears - and the accumulated evidence seems to bear out his warning that urgent action was needed.

David Jobbins

Pay: The Key Comparisons

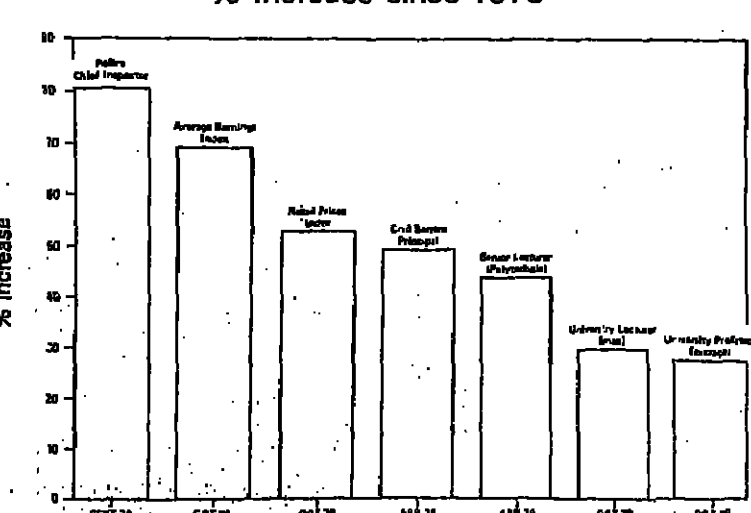


Salaries and wages (including superannuation and national insurance) as a percentage of total university spending.

	1980/81	1981/82	1982/83	1983/84
Academic (Non-clinical)	35.1	33.9	32.1	32.4
Academic (clinical)	3.9	3.8	3.6	3.8
Academic related	8.0	7.8	7.5	7.8
Technical	9.6	9.4	8.9	8.8
Clerical	7.4	7.2	6.8	6.8
Other	5.6	5.2	4.9	4.9
Total wage bill	69.6	67.3	63.9	64.6
Total non-pay	30.4	32.7	36.1	35.4

Source: Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals.

% increase since 1979



Carolyn Dempster

Ernest Boyer

Listening to the difference between major and minor

One of the most familiar opening lines on an American campus is "What's your major?" For most students "the major" is the centerpiece of their academic plans. The goal is to specialize in some field or another, and then, with new knowledge and appropriate skills, go out and get a job or move on to an advanced degree.

The desire many students have to begin to specialize is not self-serving or surprising. They are properly eager to develop their own aptitudes and interests and become competent in a specific line of work. Furthermore, college is expensive and most students and their parents feel the pinch and want to make sure their investment will pay off.

But choosing a major can be a bewildering experience. At most colleges and universities in the United States, students now have a dizzying array of choices. The latest edition of the *College Blue Book*, a national college and subject, contains more than 6,000 different specialties. Every college we visited in the recent Carnegie study has been adding but in the splitting up of old ones. The number of majors offered at these colleges ranged from 18 to 136, and the list includes such surprising subjects as therapeutic recreation.

An East Coast university had just one major in forestry in 1965, offered within the school of agriculture. By 1975, we noticed the forestry major had become a separate college - the college of forestry and recreation resources - and four different majors were within it. By 1985, the college of forestry had seven specialized majors, including three specialties within horticulture alone: fruit and vegetable horticulture, ornamental horticulture and turfgrass horticulture.

Today's impressive array of traditional academic disciplines and new applied specializations has generated a spirited and important debate about the subject matter appropriate for an institution of higher education.

The risk of losing political support

At meetings we attended, we heard faculty argue vigorously with each other and with administrators over what the college should be teaching. A history professor, offended by the college's policy of adding majors at "the whim" of local business interests, said: "The administration is destroying any hope that this will become an educational institution. They are trying to create a multiversity, all things to all people, and when you do that, quality education suffers." The president observed that he risks losing political support if he does not appear responsive to the community's needs. "If the financial community wants more business courses, we'll have more business courses," he replied.

As we listened to these debates, what we frequently found missing in the recognition the colleges have always struggled over how to accommodate new knowledge and to organize the old. At the turn of the century, for example, as historian Frederick Rudolph has written, "Chemists at the University of Chicago fought zoologists over disputed scientific territory... economists fought biologists as both laid claim to statistics. History and classics fought for control of ancient history at Harvard." The point is that the curriculum, like knowledge itself, always is evolving

and newness alone is not justification of the rejection of a program. Further, in many of today's curriculum debates there is little recognition of the fact that education has always been contested terrain. The first formal university, in fact, as Samuel Eliot Morrison put it, "distinctly purposeful".

What we found especially troublesome is the inclination on some campuses to judge a proposed specialization or field of study on its presumed prestige and social status rather than on its intrinsic worth. It is all right, some say, to be a doctor, but it is all right to be a nurse. Teaching college school is something else again. To dig objective, but to plan to work with ruined lives in an urban jungle, a more complicated and demanding venture, may be rejected. To read what has been written in the past is just fine, but to aspire to write about the present is not considered quite legitimate.

I suggest that a student's choice of a major should not be made on the basis of its newness or its usefulness or its academic status. Rather, the test for a major is whether it will, in the end, broaden, not narrow, the vision of the student.

The test is whether it will broaden vision

Specifically, I suggest that a major should be able successfully to respond to three essential questions:

- What is the history and tradition of the field to be examined?
- What are the social and economic implications to be understood?
- What are the ethical and moral issues within the specialty to be confronted and resolved?

What is proposed, in short, is an enriched major. Rather than divide the undergraduate experience into two isolated camps - general versus special education - as so often happens in the United States, the two should be brought together. If a field of study cannot be discussed in terms of its historical, social, and ethical implications, it should not be a college major. If these concerns can be creatively confronted, the major is legitimate and enriched.

How might various specialties now offered in universities and colleges be "enriched"? Students majoring in computer science would be introduced to the history and social impact of the information revolution. Students in architecture, genetics, industrial chemistry, journalism, and television production would be asked to examine the social and ethical implications of their work. English majors would understand the roots of language and consider how symbol systems can be used and dangerously abused.

Here then is my conclusion. During the undergraduate experience all students should be free to choose a major, work closely with faculty in an academic department and become well informed about a single field which will be useful to the student.

But specialization does not mean a narrow vision. I believe that all majors should place the specialty in a larger context. Through the enriched major, the faculty help students understand the connection between what they learn and how they live.

The "enriched major" should close the gap between general and specialized education. In this way, the major offers the student both technical competence and societal perspective.

Learning a lesson from Jasmine

Robert Pinker on the post-Beckford need for basic reform of social work training

The Blom-Cooper report on the death of Jasmine Beckford has made swinging criticisms of professional social work training, accompanied by cogent recommendations for reform. The Beckford case is only one of the most recent in a catalogue of similar tragedies, starting well before the Maria Colwell inquiry in 1973.

In nearly all previous inquiries, defective training has been identified as one of the contributory causes. The Blom-Cooper report traces these educational deficiencies back to the Seebohm report, whose endorsement of the generic model of social work education led to the decline of specialist teaching and practice. The immediate question is whether the Blom-Cooper recommendations will be quickly and efficiently implemented.

Generic social work education, which was imported from the United States in the mid-1950s, is based on the premise that there is a fundamental body of social work knowledge and skills relevant to all client groups, irrespective of their needs, values, ethnic characteristics or type of setting.

The range of skills includes the chief methods of social work intervention and practice, namely individual case-work, group work and community work.

Accordingly, the curriculum is designed to provide the broadest possible range of experience, with the result that specialization - if any - is postponed until after qualification and employment.

The first generic training course was instituted at the London School of Economics in the mid-1950s, a time when social work was a small-scale enterprise, organized on largely specialist lines, with separate child care departments for further specialist supervision and training.

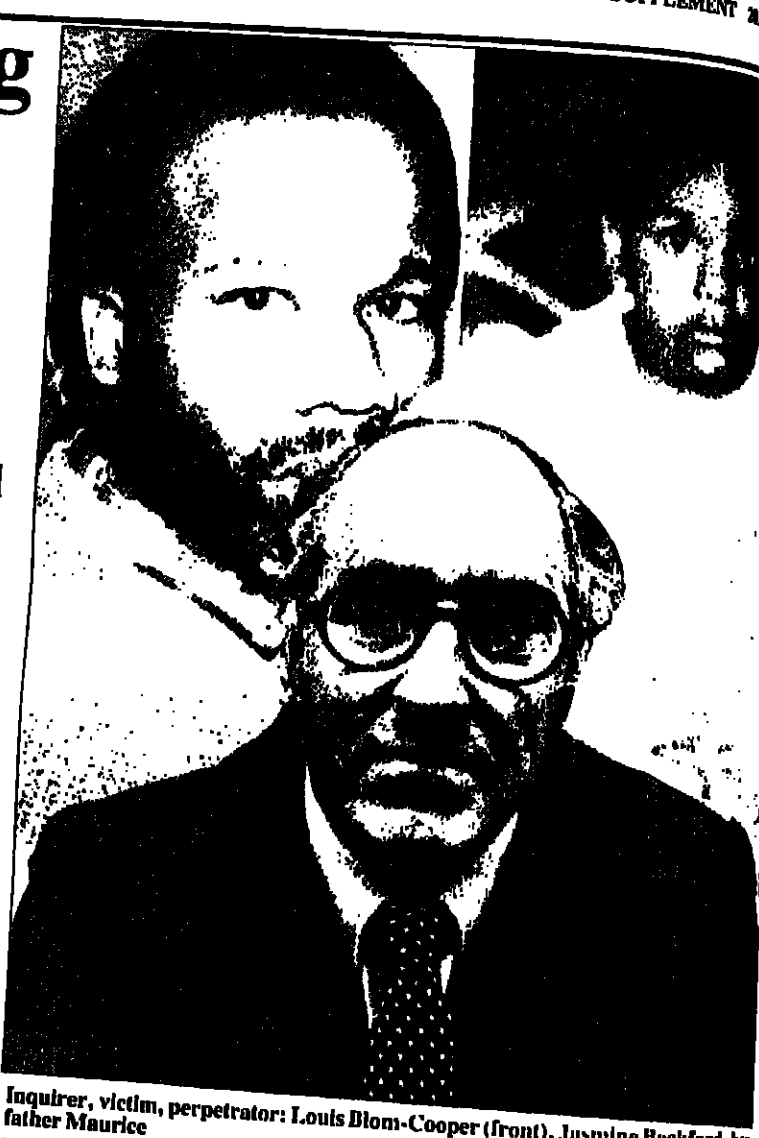
This situation was transformed in the early 1970s, when the key recommendations of the Seebohm report were implemented in England and Wales (a similar reorganization taking place in Scotland after the publication of the Kilbrandon report of 1964). The local authorities replaced their separate specialist agencies with unified departments providing a wide range of personal social services, including social work. In England and Wales only services remained independent.

To promote the rapid expansion of professional social work training on generic lines advocated in the Seebohm report, the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work (CCETSW) was established in 1972.

By the mid-1970s, compliance with the generic approach had become compulsory for colleges in order to gain the CCETSW licence to provide social work training and to confer the professional Certificate of Qualification in Social Work (CQSW) award, which was instituted in 1972. The Certificate in Social Service (CSS) was introduced in 1975 for non-professional social service workers.

I served as chairman of the central council's validating committee between 1977 and 1983, but declined an invitation to continue as a council member because I was by then convinced that the directorate of the policies which I felt would be detrimental to social work practice.

During this period, three particular problems emerged from the Seebohm report and from the initial decision to establish, either inside or outside the central council, as to the exact meaning of genericism, which made evaluation of its effectiveness extremely



Inquirer, victim, perpetrator: Louis Blom-Cooper (front), Jasmine Beckford, her father Maurice

difficult. Second, there were unmitigated pressures within the central council to expand the role and tasks of social work from what was a modest, feasible and reasonably well-focused frame of reference to an impossible range of tasks encompassing individual clients in relation, not only to a family, but to their communities and, indeed, to the whole of society.

The idea that social workers would do well enough if they first concentrated on fulfilling their legal duties efficiently was dismissed as "reactionary" and "elitist".

Third, the establishment of large multi-purpose departments provided contexts in which the fusion of genericism, bureaucracy and the wider reaches of populist community action had a stultifying effect on the growth of specialist practice. For example, this prevented the development of a nucleus of expert supervisors in child care (work) for the instruction of students on practice placement and the guidance of newly qualified social workers.

These alarming deficiencies in social work expertise were first exposed not in child care, but in mental health, where the Government recently responded by initiating extra training courses for approved mental health social workers.

No attempt was made, however, to incorporate this type of expertise into basic CQSW courses, and it would have been pointless to try: throughout the whole period under review, generic quarts of social work training were being poured into one- and two-year pint-pots of courses.

Professional social work education has been run on a bargain-basement principle for too long. Graduates with "relevant" degrees take one year, and other graduates and non-graduates take two years. In both instances, half the students' time is spent in supervised agency practice, although it is increasingly difficult to find suitable practice placements, because of cuts in social service budgets.

Since 1982 the central council has launched several extraordinarily misguided (and unevaluated) training initiatives, with the explicit purpose of combining the CQSW and CSS syllabuses in a unified training programme, regardless of the fact that each individual student would then need even wider basic professional training than he does already.

In addition, there would be further dilution of what is left of specialist social work education. Moreover, this is not only the dimension of generalist dilution countenanced by the central council. It has also been greatly influenced by the recommendations of the Barclay majority report on the role and tasks of social workers, which include the adoption of a "community social work" approach.

In order to accommodate these questionable objectives, the central council is asking the Government to fund a third year of professional training. That would simply reinforce all that is worst in British social work - a disposition towards the diffusion and blurring of duties, a general unwillingness to set objectives and priorities, as exemplified in the Beckford findings with regard to "substandard" and "inadequate" social environments.

To conclude our anthropology series, Mary Bouquet considers studying societies close to home while Richard Jenkins (below) looks to the future

Still green about the English village

Inscribed within the history of British social anthropology, there is a "deep divide between studying 'them' and studying 'us'". While anthropologists have devoted a great deal of attention to concepts of "us" and "them" among the other cultures they have studied, their own cultural categories have often remained more or less implicit.

Why should it be so difficult for anthropologists to study their own society? *Le regard éloigné* should, after all, incorporate that distance conducive to rethinking the "familiar", the "obvious" and the "normal".

The problem has surfaced over the past 15 years, which have seen the bringing of anthropology back home. Whether for politico-economic reasons of post-empire, post-industrial Britain, whether as part of the development of an anthropology of complex societies, anthropologists have been unable to postpone their own tradition of *regard éloigné* in the context of the society which bore it.

But whereas Boissevain, for example, has referred to the discovery of Europe's "primitives" and a subsequent "tribalization" of village communities by anthropologists, the problem may be stated otherwise. Tribalization, it seems to me, may be better located at the level of different disciplinary approaches to the familiar.

The feebleness of most anthropological studies of rural Britain carried out between 1968 and 1983 has been attributed by Cohen to the lack of a research tradition in this field. This seems to crystallize a tendency among anthropologists to deny the implications of the long and winding road which has led back to their own (closed?) front doors. Could it be not so much the absence of a research tradition as its inapplicability to the study of rural Britain?

Another disturbing experience has been the encounter between anthropologists and rural sociologists who, if not exactly Boissevain's "primitives", nevertheless produce a form of native discourse with which the anthropologist must come to terms in one way or another. Here begins the process of disciplinary tribalization - which is strangely at odds with the contemporary interdisciplinary millennium.

Anthropologists and sociologists have discovered, along the interface of their encounter, that calling a spade a spade (or a rose a rose) has brought their dialogue to a ragged halt - among a riotous foliage of "communities", "classes", "villages" and "family farms".

Young British anthropologists who

found themselves up academic creek without a paddle in the second half of the 1970s gravitated, as Kuper has noted, into three main areas: ethnographic film, what he calls "ethnically studies", which is what they themselves would probably call race relations; and, far fewer, to "peasant studies".

It is highly questionable whether anyone in the last batch would, in fact, consider themselves involved in "peasant studies" if they work in Britain. With the possible exception of those working on the (very) Celtic fringes, most would reserve the term "peasant" for investigations carried out on the other side of the Channel.

Comfort can even be drawn from the new rural sociology of the 1970s, where a whole new language has been invented for talking about things rural - "social formations", "modes" and "forms" of production, reproduction - which avoids the embarrassment of a world divided between peasants, capitalists and family farmers.

The English countryside is not just familiar, it stands in some way for the idea of home and serves as a repository for cherished and "timeless" values. As a representation of "Englishness", it lends itself to identification by a wide spectrum of interested parties - from the upwardly mobile new right to the erstwhile anthropologist, anyone indeed who is looking for a break from what happens to be their rat race.

One strategy, faced with such a surfeit of anthropological material, has been the green and pleasant land, to search behind a landscape with figures for the social and political relations which structure farm, village and local life. This approach clearly accepts the sociological reality of such studies, and within and between them may be analysed and measured. In such a project, the new rural sociology is as much concerned with dismantling the parameters of an earlier genre of community studies, which is seen as one of the principal agents of the *Gemeinschaft*.

What of the anthropologist? The cultural reality of notions such as family farm/farm family, village and so forth is not only difficult to dismiss but, indeed, generates a different set of problems and manner of approach. The problem here is one of disentangling the constituent ideas of such constructs, as well as seeing how they are related to other ideas.

But the project doesn't stop at seeing how these ideas are related at the local level. In the tradition of a

debate which began in the New Guinea Highlands and centred on the question of whether unilineal descent was a "thing" or a cultural idiom, we find ourselves asking (as Marilyn Strathern has done) what the cultural significance of people's ideas of the village might be.

In her study of Elmdon village in Essex, she demonstrates how distinctions present in the language of family and kinship, which are used to differentiate between who belongs to the village and who doesn't, speak to wider cultural preoccupations - more particularly, the English obsession with class.

The Elmdon study condenses a number of the processes at work in the present metamorphosis of the British school. Begun in the 1960s as a training ground for students - including Strathern herself - from the department of social anthropology in Cambridge, under the supervision of Audrey Richards (who had a cottage there!) and Edmund Leach, the study of Elmdon was heterogeneous and somewhat amorphous. Strathern's analysis and interpretation of the material, which was published in 1981, delivers unprecedentedly into English cultural categories and began, the study being located in Newby country, to interrogate the nature of the interface between anthropologist and sociologist and what they see in the "same" reality from their respective vantage points.

It is, of course, possible to explore other rural constructs in a similar fashion: the duplicitous family farm/family is related as a cultural artefact to the village. Its component ideas of structural fixity and individual (female) mobility echo those of the village, despite the combined fiction of

biology and property which make it appear at first sight to belong to a non-class discourse. That is to say, home and work seem not yet separated on the family farm as they are elsewhere in a class society. Both village and family farm, which appear to be natural conceptual units, actually disintegrate before our eyes when subjected to this kind of ideological excavation.

Such practice does not, predictably, meet with unbridled enthusiasm or approval - either from anthropologists or sociologists. Part of the onus of the British tradition (rather than its absence) lies in the emphasis on and respect for ethnography.

The tendency to "klopispy" - or tribalize, in Boissevain's terms - small "strange" populations was at first a source of differing diversion and, later, of a certain respect among sociologists. Ethnography might, after all, be useful (no one explained quite how) - especially in applied fields where the presence of an anthropologist has become a sort of totem in the new double regime of interdisciplinary studies and scarcer funds.

Ethnography and anthropology have even slipped imperceptibly into synonymy in certain quarters, totally ignoring the clear distinction between the two. There seem to have been strongly vested institutional and political reasons for maintaining this status quo among anthropologists themselves, at least until the beginning of what Kuper calls the "lean years" of British social anthropology (1972-1982, and beyond?).

Ethnography on these terms made less and less sense for those passing through the system during the 1970s and 1980s. This was not so much for

lack of an ethnography of Britain *qua* research tradition, say, as a failure to reflect upon the "whys" and "wherefores" of the great divide. Ethnography, *per se*, does not advance the process of comparison defined by Kuper as a continual interchange between old and new studies. Nor does it face up to the challenge presented by sociology in its theorization of the "same" social reality. It also leaves anthropology curiously high and dry with respect to the transformation of British society itself, both in its demise as a world power and through the tremendous internal polarization between the new affluent and new poor.

The process of finding a language through which to analyse and interpret the English countryside is a parable, or riddle, on this internal labyrinth of social anthropology itself.

The spectacle of a landscape, and generations of its inhabitants, at one and the same time perceptible through and consumed by language, is vertiginous indeed. That it is in the realm of the "thinkable" is perhaps a signal of the metamorphosis through which social anthropology seems to be passing - a metamorphosis which may be identified in the latter-day disestablishmentarianism of the discipline, and the anti-disestablishmentarianism which has been provoked in certain quarters.

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Ready for marriage of academic convenience

The theme of the third decennial conference of the Association of Social Anthropologists, held in Cambridge in 1983, was anthropology in the 1980s, the future of the discipline. What the meeting was really about was jobs for the boys (and girls), and how to 'protect them'. Which, of course, is as it should be. The future of social anthropology is nothing if it is not the future of the present younger generation of social anthropologists.

By comparison with sociology, social anthropology is an elitist gerontocracy, imbued with all the sensitivity to hierarchy of a London club or an Oxbridge senior common room. Anthropologists are enthusiastic ancestor worshippers. It remains important where and "under" whom one did one's postgraduate work.

The situation may be changing, however. Like other social sciences, funding for anthropology is not what it used to be. Questions have been asked at Westminster about the "usefulness" of field studies of Central European villages. Cabinet ministers have applauded the transfer of research funding away from people studying "the pre-natal habits of natives of the Upper Volta valley" as Norman Tebbit put it. In this respect, anthropology is no more under threat than many of the social sciences and humanities. Indeed, its conservatism



© Ian Kellars

The intellectual coherence of social anthropology as an academic subject in its own right is becoming ever more questionable. Its organization at bedfellows - social history, sociology, human geography, social psychology - recognize the value of ethnography and cross-cultural comparison, the importance of culture, oral tradition and the mundane intimacies of day-to-day life. These jewels in the anthropological crown twinkle just as brightly on other brows. Distinctiveness is increasingly maintained only by an anxious beating of its boundary defences, defences which are often more institutional and symbolic than substantial and intellectual.

The situation is compounded by the fact that the other subjects concerned offer a wider range of theoretical approaches and methodological competences than anthropology can. Elitism and a sense of distinction, combined with the fact that for many years it had its patch - the Empire - to itself, have led to a narrow range of interests, a lack of methodological diversity and sophistication, and theoretical under-development.

Several solutions to these problems have been canvassed. Perhaps the most common is, unfortunately, the impassioned reassertion of tradition -

al anthropological virtues with respect to exotic ethnography and the understanding of cultural diversity. A more sophisticated, although related, approach may be gaining ground, involving the attempt to maintain a traditional anthropological identity while also becoming more "relevant". The keywords are "applied research", "planning", "consultancy work" and "multi-disciplinary approaches". In their old ex-colonial territories and, increasingly, "at home", anthropologists are seeking to become more involved in policy-related research. Some more radical fieldworkers go further and advocate the role of advocates of the rights of indigenous peoples, the communicators of their protests.

Another set of solutions involves shifting the focus and scope of social anthropology. Other new approaches include the increased use of computers to handle qualitative data and the exploration of the contribution which anthropology can make to social and community work training. At bottom, however, these innovations remain firmly rooted within the traditional disciplinary paradigm.

What we have, therefore, is a discipline whose recruitment is threatened as a result of spending

cuts, which faces strong competition for research funds and students from more broadly based cognate disciplines, whose traditional research subjects are becoming ever more inaccessible, and whose intellectual distinctiveness and coherence is fragile, to say the least.

Perhaps, then, it is time to move beyond conventional solutions. It may even be that the discipline has outlived the conditions of its institutional emergence - the needs of colonial administration - and no longer has a distinctive role to play in this form. Certainly the anthropological perspective - a comparative concern with the minutiae of routine interaction and cultural differences - will retain its value, but perhaps that perspective will be best preserved in the organizational settings of sociology or social psychology.

Perhaps the time has come for anthropology to lose its separate disciplinary identity in order to find its intellectual potential. Anthropology departments are dead; long live anthropology?

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There are two ways in which you can set about becoming Sir Humphrey Appleby - or, one hopes, with the women's movement in mind, Lady Hermione. If you are already in the Civil Service, and are doing a good job as an executive, or higher executive officer, you can get your department to put you forward for transfer to the "fast stream". If you are an undergraduate in your final year, or if you have recently obtained at least a second class honours degree, you can sit an anonymously marked qualifying test. Both routes will bring you to the first of the two hurdles which Sir Humphrey's young assistant, the "high flyer" Bernard Woolley, has recently and successfully jumped: the Civil Service Selection Board.

This isn't, whatever the newspapers and certain Members of Parliament may say, a secret to produce Sir Humphrey clones. (Sir Humphrey himself, it is suggested, has a First in Classics, and almost certainly entered the service before the old Method One written examination plus interview was finally phased out in 1970 and replaced by the Civil Service Selection Board. Neither is it designed to perpetuate an Oxbridge elite, even though there are instructive reasons for a tendency to do so. It does try, in two days, to see if you've got what it takes to reach the top in the single largest employing organization in the country.

Even statistically, it's not easy to get to the CSSB. Of the 5,000 or so external applicants who take the qualifying test, only 700 or so do well enough to come forward. The mere fact of passing it probably means that you're well on the way to an upper second, even a first. Perhaps because they don't want to lose the best people who are doing the more difficult everyday work - shades of the traditional reluctance of commanding officers to recommend their best NCOs for promotion to commissioned rank - departments don't seem to manage to send more than between 60 and 80 internal service candidates forward every year.

Neither is appearance before the CSSB an automatic passport to the third and final stage: the selection of higher civil servants. Only one in three of the candidates seen by the CSSB does well enough to go forward to the Final Selection Board, the interviewing panel which takes the final decision as to whether or not the candidate is going to take the first real step towards becoming Sir Humphrey. Only one in seven is given a provisional mark high enough to suggest to the FSB that this is a candidate who is genuinely suitable to the "fast stream".

At the Final Selection Board, the selective slaughter continues, albeit at a less intensive rate. Of the 150 or so candidates who go forward to this stage, only 100 are finally judged to have the potential to move fairly quickly, through further selection in the working environment of the Home Civil Service, upwards through the ranks of higher executive officer (D) (D = Development), principal, assistant secretary, through under secretary and beyond.

Each Final Selection Board has five members: A, the chairman, who is either the first commissioner himself or his deputy; B, a university representative (sometimes me; that's how I come to know about it); C, someone from business or industry; and D and E, two serving civil servants.

The chairman opens the betting in what is generally a successful attempt to put the candidate at her or his ease. Then B asks questions for between eight and eleven minutes, followed by either D or E. When B and D are doing the questioning, C and E listen. Their turn will come with the next candidate, when it will be the job of B and D to evaluate in silence. Once you've finished your questioning, that's it. There are no supplementaries.

The marks obtained by the candidate at a CSSB are all available, as are confidential reports and references together with a detailed written report on the candidate's performance. The CSSB report, with the suggested mark, is in fact sent to board members several days in advance, and forms the basis for the final assessment.

The CSSB mark is treated with some respect, and rightly so. The FSB interview will have lasted between 35 and 40 minutes, and tested mainly the candidate's ability to discuss such questions as why the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has not yet proved successful in changing Government policy, whether literary censorship can ever be justified, what piece of legislation the candidate would most like to see introduced into the next parliament, how the candi-



How to get to the top

Philip Thody gives an insider's view of the Civil Service 'fast stream' selection procedure

date would deal with the problems of inner city decay, and even - occasionally - whose name the candidate would most like to see in the obituary columns of tomorrow's *Times* (the questioner's own, I sometimes suspect). The CSSB experience, in contrast, lasts two days, and is a good deal more searching.

It doesn't, in spite of the long-standing myth, take place in a country house. Neither does anybody watch the candidates as they whether they hold their knife and fork properly. My own impression from the three days I recently spent at a CSSB is that it tests intellectual ability and adaptability, together with the capacity to work with others. Social and ideological considerations seemed to play no part at all, and the capacity to work with others did not mean just being an amiable conformist.

The CSSB experience takes place in a set of comfortable if slightly austere rooms in Whitehall. It consists of a series of exercises which the candidates are told about beforehand, and for which it is about as easy or as difficult to prepare as it is for finals. If you are prepared to keep sitting the qualifying test - and able to keep on passing it - you can come to the CSSB as an external candidate as often as you like, until you reach the age of 32. It's by no means unusual for people to succeed at their third or even their fourth go, so from that point of view it's a bit fairer than the once and for all experience of sudden death or immediate beatification offered by finals.

What struck me straight away in the first of the three days which I recently spent as a visitor at a CSSB was the generous allocation of assessors to the candidates. Each group of five candidates has a board of three members. This consists of a chairman, who is normally either a recently retired civil servant or someone from a comparable walk of life; a psychologist; and the observer, a serving civil servant of principal rank, whose presence is supposed to put the candidates more at ease.

The first exercise at a CSSB, to which no formal mark is given, is an unscripted discussion in which the five members of the group talk about two or three contemporary topics. Should civil servants have their own radio and television soap operas so popular? Why are British trade unions more bloody-minded than the Japanese? Is the university more effective at polishing the pebble or at dimming the diamond? There is no "mutual ranking exercise"; they are not in direct competition with other members of their own particular group, and it is quite possible for all five of them to go forward to the FSB.

The next exercise was the one which

I felt carried the most weight. In two and a quarter hours, each candidate had to study a file containing rather more documents than I would have liked to read in a whole morning, and write a report on them. When I was there, these documents dealt with an imaginary but well designed problem: schools should receive a government grant of £20 million. Candidates had to list the pros and cons of each option and come up with a recommendation in favour of their preferred solution. The aim was to test the ability of each candidate to absorb and evaluate material information at speed, and to present their conclusions in an articulate and convincing form.

The answers produced from the analysis of the file in what is known as the "appreciation exercise" are independently marked by all three members of each board. The members then meet to reveal, discuss and justify their marks. They tended, in fact, when I was there, to give the same mark, but argued with one another quite firmly when they didn't. The same thing happened with the other major written CSSB exercise, the drafting test. Here, candidates were faced with a ticklish situation - supporters of an English football team had misbehaved during a visit to a town in France and the local mayor had to be calmed down so he didn't encourage the cancellation of an important contract - which had to be dealt with by an appropriately framed letter. This exercise tests tact and imagination as well as the ability to use language convincingly.

These were the only written tests at the CSSB which I could understand, or, for that matter, which I was invited to see. Like the qualifying test, which contains a number of scientifically designed exercises to test literacy and numeracy, the CSSB experience also included what are known as "objectively marked tests", aimed at assessing "non-verbal and verbal reasoning". Since the mark I normally score at exercises of this kind is low enough for me to qualify, in the views of the more extreme believers in the inherited nature of intelligence, for an immediate grant of several thousand dollars to have a vasectomy. I naturally view them with some suspicion. The psychologist nevertheless told me, in a professionally reassuring tone of voice, that the tests are "very reliable".

Another of the major activities which tested our five candidates' suitability for promotion to the fast stream - they were all, at the board which I watched, either executive or higher executive officers - was the committee exercise. Each of the five members of the group was given a separate problem on which she or he would chair a 15-minute committee meeting, with 45

minutes to master the details and prepare a presentation. The object of the exercise was to test for the strengths and weaknesses about which the board had thus already been warned, as well as to see how the candidates got on with one another in a simulated working environment.

As far as the members of the board at which I was present were concerned, the answer was "rather too well". There is a natural tendency, when you are a member of a committee which you know you are about to have to chair, not to make things difficult for the current chairman. This tendency to blandness nevertheless received slightly unfavourable comment in the discussion among the members of the exercise. This again helped to dispel the myth that the Civil Service puts too high a premium on "being a good chap", and also made me wonder whether some comparative exercise might be profitably used in the selection of future academic staff. We all came to spend quite a lot of our time serving on committees, and none of us would be likely to disqualify ourselves by an excessive tendency to agree with our peers.

Each of the five members of each CSSB group also has an extended face to face interview with the chairman, with the observer and with the psychologist. The aim is once again not to test their ideological conformity or social attitudes. It is to try to find out the answer to a number of more specific questions. How - and this was the question which arose most frequently - how good would she or he be at briefing a minister, at short notice, on a complex problem on which the minister was about to answer questions from the press or in the House, or on which he was going to have to "fight his corner"? How well, in other words, would they do the serious part of Sir Humphrey or Bernard Woolley's job?

I have always been impressed, as a member of the Final Selection Board, at the readiness of its members almost to fall over backwards to make sure that the Middlesbrough bus conductor's younger daughter with the first second in sociology from Hull has just as good a chance of being recruited into the fast stream as the ambassador's elder son from Winchester and New College with a first in PPE.

Each board member looked as if the only qualities considered were those likely to influence performance as a civil servant. In the event, only one of the five candidates which my board had examined was judged good enough to go forward to the FSB. The report on him set out the reasons why

he should be recruited into the fast stream, while at the same time indicating the areas where the FSB might like to probe for possible weaknesses. For the four who were unsuccessful, a similar report was sent back to their department. This is to enable the candidate, if he wishes to do so, to discuss his performance with his personnel officer to see whether or not he should try again. The external candidate who gets as far as the CSSB but fails does not have the advantage of this kind of feedback, and it is hard to see how it could be arranged.

In a way, of course, the image of the Civil Service is unlikely to improve until our national performance as a whole gets better. Like the universities, it is too easy and too obvious to attract generally favourable comment, and this in spite of the fact that recruitment into its higher ranks is far more blatantly elitist than it is here, and its members are granted far wider and more extensive privileges. But because the British Civil Service does, statistically, recruit a disproportionately higher number of Oxbridge graduates, it is accused of encouraging all the privilege and snobbery which are said to have brought about our national decline.

This is a bit of a myth. But at the same time as my experience of seeing how the CSSB and the FSB work made me realize how fair the Civil Service selection procedures try to be, it also enabled me to understand why five out of the six candidates interviewed by a Final Selection Board of which I was a member last year happened to be reading classics at Oxbridge. It was not so much because there is nothing else for Oxbridge classicists to do. It is not only because the independent schools still successfully encourage their cleverest pupils to read classics, and because the Civil Service selection procedures do tend to select people with high intellectual ability. It is more particularly because Oxbridge students are educated by their fellow undergraduates, and are compelled by the system to read the classics, while redbrick ones are not.

This is partly because Oxbridge students are educated by their fellow undergraduates, and are compelled by the system to read the classics, while redbrick ones are not. This is partly because Oxbridge students are educated by their fellow undergraduates, and are compelled by the system to read the classics, while redbrick ones are not.

It is the competent rather than the brilliant students who come to redbrick universities, and this is why a few intellectual pacemakers among the undergraduate body. But there is also another reason.

The CSSB process is based on the War Office Selection Board system developed during the Second World War. This, too, was criticized at the time for its tendency to give more publicity to boys who had been to public school than to those who had been to the local grammar. By requiring boys to fend for themselves in a society which differed from Hobbes's state of nature only in that it was nasty and brutish but went on for a long time, the pre-1939 public school - so ran the joke - was exactly calculated to produce the officer-like qualities essential in the 1940s. It was the defects of the system which assured success, not the social advantages which it was popularly alleged to bestow.

My own impression is that a number of Oxbridge colleges offer a comparably ambiguous advantage to the 1939 public school. By perpetuating a system in which undergraduates have to do virtually all the learning themselves, they create exactly the adaptability and openness to experience required by the successful CSSB candidate.

The average candidate from redbrick, in contrast, is set in a less adaptable mould. She or he has been accustomed, from virtually the first day of the first term, to cyclostyled hand-outs or clearly defined syllabuses, anxiously paternalistic tutors, and a relationship between course content and examination questions which is reminiscent of an early learning centre jigsaw for three-year-olds. No wonder they flounder when confronted with the open-ended questions set by the CSSB, and the need to do a little imaginative thinking.

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by Roger Silverstone

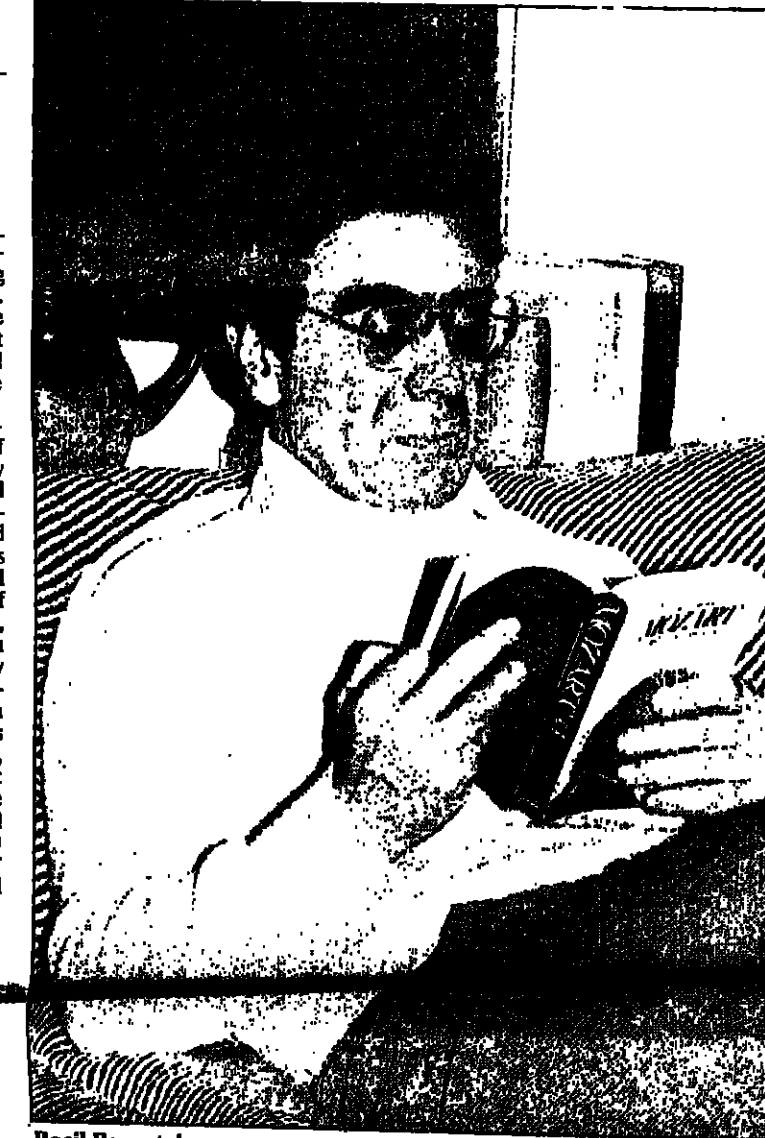
Language, Structure and Reproduction: an introduction to the sociology of Basil Bernstein
by Paul Atkinson
Methuen, £15.50 and £6.95
ISBN 0 416 356001 and 356109

Praising a British sociologist - especially one who is still alive and kicking - is a little like buying a British car. One feels one ought to do it, but at the same time one can't help feeling that there is a French or German model which will be significantly better at the price.

Basil Bernstein's work made a profound impression on the sociology of education during the sixties and early seventies. His notions of restricted and elaborated code, his models of linguistic and educational deficit with regard to working-class children, his analysis of the society and culture of the school and of the different dimensions of pedagogy enshrined in curricula, established the sociology of education as a major element in an increasingly sophisticated sociology of communication, reproduction and control, a sociology to which many Europeans contributed. It was not, however, always appreciated. Critics of the left and the right read and judged. The work of Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault in France, and Jürgen Habermas in Germany, found greater favour. Bernstein and British Leyland had much in common.

Paul Atkinson begins his book on the continuing work of Bernstein with a justifiable, if somewhat flabby, apology. Bernstein has been misinterpreted, he says, and his work has been appropriated and transformed by others. He is not simply a linguistic deficit theory, nor a theory downgrading the culture of the working class, the work as a whole has to be appreciated for what it is: a consistent and coherent analysis of the complex relations of social structure, culture and language - a major contribution to the core issues of sociology and anthropology. His book is a sustained analysis of that contribution, an appreciation rather than a critique of its complexity and its intensity. The density of Bernstein's writing, its tendency to abstraction, its unresolved contradictions, the uneven relationship of empirical to theoretical work, all are the subject of empathetic discussion. Atkinson is a good salesman.

It has always been important to Bernstein himself that both the origins



Basil Bernstein

and context of his work were identified. Unusually for a sociologist he had a clear sense of his own past, a sense that his sociology is both an expression of his own experiences as well as of intellectual influence. The introduction particularly to the first of the three volumes of collected papers is both personal and academic: the experiences of running a boys' club in the East End of London, of teaching A levels to day release students, of rubbing shoulders with the influence of Don MacRae at the London School of Economics and through him with some

of the key figures of the idealist tradition in the human sciences - Ernst Cassirer, Benjamin Lee Whorf, Durkheim and later, Mary Douglas. Atkinson places Bernstein firmly in this tradition, and he is right to do so, for it is only within it that the significance and excitement of Bernstein's work can be fully appreciated. The idealist connection was double-edged however. For as much as it succoured the work it became a target. Neither Marxism nor rapidly expanding ethnomethodology approved of Bernstein's particular version of it.

Setting an agenda

Managing Education: the system and the institution
edited by Meredydd Hughes, Peter Ribbins and Hywel Thomas
Holt Saunders, £10.95
ISBN 0 03 910605 5
Universities: the management challenge
by Geoffrey Lockwood and John Davies
NFER/Nelson, £14.95
ISBN 0 7005 0609 8

Together these two complementary books provide a comprehensive review of the theory and practice of educational management (or administration).

Professor Hughes and his colleagues' book has grown out of the master's degree teaching in the department of social and administrative studies in education at Birmingham University, with substantial contributions made by serving teachers associated with the department's programmes as tutors, students, or indeed both. The book is analytical and illuminates practice by theory. The Lockwood/Davies book grew out of the Southern Universities' Management Programme, (SUMP), which found that no work on the overall management of universities

had been published since Lockwood and Fielden's *Planning and Management in Universities* (1973). It is an effective exercise in transboundary co-operation, with contributors, again performing as students, tutors or both. Confronted with practical issues, and with enabling universities to respond and adapt to current and continuing challenges, it is informed by substantial research and investigation, (much of this originating from Davies's extensive connections with United States universities) and by a scholarly discussion of universities as organizations.

Managing Education has four sections, the first containing an extended review by Hughes of the development of educational management as a discipline, a discussion of the scope and limitations of current approaches, and a review of the creative tension between theory and practice. It is a long time since the theoretical basis of educational management received such extended attention, and Hughes is to be congratulated on both his command of the field and his exposition. One might have minor reservations about the relatively slight treatment given to public administration and social administration as contributory disciplines, but in compensation we have the use of Thomas Kuhn's work on "paradigms".

The remaining three sections deal respectively with the management of the system, the institution and of evaluation and change. There is a rich variety - on 16-19 policy, curriculum control, systems analysis and second-

dary reorganization among others. Firm editing has overcome the danger of lack of unity. The case studies are explicitly related either to Hughes's opening chapter or to the overviews provided by Ribbins on organization theory and the study of educational institutions, and Thomas on perspectives on evaluation. In these sections the most impressive contributions are those of Hughes on leadership in professionally staffed organizations, and Ribbins on the middle manager in the secondary school, where both go at full blast in areas where they have deservedly made a name for themselves. By virtue of its coverage of both theoretical and empirical issues, this is the most important work on educational management to appear for some years.

Lockwood and Davies are similarly concerned to strike a balance between theoretical analysis and practitioner perspectives, with the aim of preparing universities to adapt themselves to an uncertain and uncongenial future. Their book will be of interest not only to those working in universities but to those concerned with organizational theory and its applications, with relationships between universities and society at large, with styles of decision-making, and with the balance non-commercial organizations should strike between public support and reliance on market forces. In effect the authors develop a new way of looking at the universities. Their analysis proceeds step by step, it must be said with some degree of repetition from delineating universities' external

environment, through a consideration of universities as organizations, to setting the agenda for university management over the next ten years. Detailed consideration is given to elaborating a statement of universities' mission and purpose and to discussion of university governance, the process of policy formation and planning, and the impact of more exigent financial and political imperatives on customary academic processes. This is illustrated by applying concepts of efficiency and productivity to teaching and learning activities, and by the exploitation of academic research expertise through entrepreneurial approaches. Other chapters deal with more specific topics, such as budgeting and financial management, space utilization, personnel and information management. Evaluation is considered as an aid to effective management and Lockwood contributes a brilliant coda on the changing role of the university administration.

The reader will find little comfort but several challenges and possibly a threat or two. Davies puts things at their starkest when arguing that universities can react to distress and decline by a mixture of resistance and adaptation. In both processes, he emphasizes, the accretion of power to the centres has a bleak inevitability. Collegial decision-making, if not a luxury, is necessarily constrained by the need to respond rapidly and effectively to unwelcome external challenge. He reminds us with partial appropriateness that the original meaning of committee was that of "a

person to whom the care of a lunatic or idiot was entrusted". The vice-chancellor needs authority and support to function as the university's chief executive officer. The unions are outflanked. Even on issues like staff redundancies and re-deployment the Association of University Teachers is regarded as of less account than senate and council and in general the union role is peripheral and reactive.

Lockwood and Davies write explicitly as managers, and Lockwood was clearly an influential member of the Jarratt committee on efficiency. They are sensitive to the outlooks and concerns of academic staff and do not wish to do violence to traditional university values, processes and practice. If they had been able to get a contribution or two from the outside, say by an AUTE activist or a professor in a threatened discipline in one of the more severely hit universities, the considerable value of their work have been enhanced. As it is, some of the more specialized chapters suffer from excessive detail, a failure to explain techniques, and clumsy plodding English, but the book's general impact comes across forcefully. It is an essential aid for all concerned with the continued survival of British universities.

D. A. Howell

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BOOKS

Europe's outcasts

The Unwanted: European refugees in the twentieth century
by Michael R. Marrus
Oxford University Press, £22.50
ISBN 0 19 503615 8

Throughout the 20th century millions of refugees have crossed the frontiers of Europe. Millions more people victims of an oppressive majority of foreign invaders, perished, unable to escape in time. This book sets out to tell their story.

As a professional historian, Professor Marrus seeks to do more than provide a narrative account. In his interesting introduction he defines what was different about the refugees of our century compared with previous centuries. His analyses are, however, less convincing than his narrative. His central concern, he writes, was to discover "the impact of refugee movement on the international community in Europe, principally with reference

to the relations between states". Not much comes of this endeavour, which is not surprising since the effects of refugees on relations between European nations is hardly perceptible. The great flood of Jewish refugees from Tsarist Russia at the turn of the century was not allowed to interfere with the "high diplomacy" of the great powers. Nor was the story essentially different when the refugee question arose from persecutions of the Armenians in the "barbarous" Ottoman Empire. The civilized "Concert of Europe" could not function divided by their own differing perceptions of national interests. Moral considerations came low on the list compared with vital military and strategic assumptions.

What was true before 1914 remained true after 1914. White Russian refugees, after 1918, did not influence French foreign policy any more than Jewish refugees in the 1930s lessened British efforts to reach an accommodation with Hitler's Germany. In setting the new frontiers of Europe at Yalta and Potsdam, the fact that they would entail millions more refugees was not an inhibiting factor. Only in the Middle East were the Jewish refugees to have a major impact on relations between states.

To governments, as the author vividly portrays, refugees were generally unwelcome, except to France in the interwar period as French govern-

ments attempted to fill the gap left by the Frenchmen killed on the Western Front. At times of unemployment, the mostly penniless newcomers represented an added burden and problem. But there is, too, an entirely different side to the refugee question in the 20th century.

The plight of refugees produced a genuine concern among ordinary people. The strength of this humanitarian response, in such stark contrast to official reactions, also needs to be written up and accounted for. In Britain the Armenian massacres of the 1890s led to the formation of the Armenian committees up and down the country pressuring governments to act and to provide relief funds for the victims. Forty years later, in the 1930s, in response to appeals by the churches and by concerned individuals large funds were collected to provide refuge for Jews fleeing from Germany and Austria.

How did the refugees settle in their new homes? Were they of benefit to their host countries or did they remain unhappy, uprooted aliens? What of their descendants?

The principal strength of this book does not lie in raising such questions but in describing the refugee movements themselves. These accounts are, however, rather uneven. The pre-1919 story of refugees is, at times, perfunctory told. The two most horrific persecutions of modern history in their

tragic consequences were the Turkish treatment of their Armenian subjects, and National Socialist Germany's murder of the Jews. A book on European refugees needs to bear in mind the proportion of horror, difficult as this undoubtedly is. The post-1945 period similarly is only briefly treated. The account of the persecution of the Jews, however, provides a welcome synthesis of recent scholarly conclusions and this section is one of the best in the book. Also well told are the earlier efforts of the League of Nations and especially the remarkable contribution of Fridtjof Nansen.

What Professor Marrus convincingly shows is that the refugee question needs to be considered as a whole. He inevitably draws from secondary authorities, some of it not well known. The author's readable narrative raises many questions and leaves the reader clamorous to know much more. History chronicles the changing experiences of people. How extraordinary then that this is the first book to deal comprehensively with the lives of many millions of Europeans, the refugees of the 20th century.

J. A. S. Grenville

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Sir Rowland Hill

escape is mechanization, to which there are severe limits. By 1914 the Post Office was not only collecting and delivering letters (its founding function) and carrying the parcel post, but was conducting small-scale money transfers (postal orders), running a savings bank and operating the nation's telegraphs and telephones, as well as acting as a national paying-out system beginning with old age pensions in 1908. Already indeed by 1880 the Post Office was the agency for selling lottery licences and fiscal stamps. As Daunton puts it, the post offices in each town and village more and more became the local representatives of the state. At the same time their place in the urban landscape, antithetical to the humble cottage post offices like that of Candeford. Earlier the Post Office had been deeply involved in subsidies to the new Atlantic steamships. Along the way it had locked horns with the railway companies over charges. An attempt to sell life insurance proved a failure.

The Post Office has been obliged to combine the labour-intensive low technology of manual letter sorting and delivery with the high technology of the telegraph and the telephone. To each of its functions it has been necessary to attach a consumer price, leading deep into the mornas of monopoly pricing and the attendant problem of cross-subsidy from the profitable to the unprofitable. It is not surprising that M. J. Daunton expresses astonishment that the Post Office has so largely escaped the administrative systems for so long. Somehow the history of transport, for example, has been able to consolidate itself as an academic study, but the story of the Post Office has had to wait until it acted on its own behalf by commissioning the present study. Perhaps the great deterrent was the complexity of the story with its many facets and their interplay, making the Post Office staff general.

Daunton has been clearly determined to repair the omission properly, and in this he succeeds. Organizing his book on thematic rather than narrative lines, he enters deep into the problems posed by the many functions assumed by the Post Office, but also those of overall coherence and interplay. Rowland Hill in the process is brought down from the pedestal of entrepreneurial romances; but he is less given credit for his real, though often tortured, contribution. The book is well brought out that the Post Office, the savings bank and other functions each had attached to it a body of theory. In the eyes of Hill and those who followed him the provision of such public services must be consistent with accepted ideas, deriving from the political economy of the market. The Post Office itself must pay its way and be no charge on the tax system: the savings bank must not intrude upon the commercial banks, but should confine itself to promoting savings, putting inconveniences in the way of withdrawals: suggestions for a giro system were rejected until 1968. It is an absorbing story, though perhaps Daunton is sometimes too profuse with the detail.

Sydney Checkland

Sydney Checkland's most recent book, "British Public Policy 1776-1939", has lately been published in paperback.

Catching the post

Royal Mail: the Post Office since 1840
by M. J. Daunton
Athlone Press, £18.50
ISBN 0 485 12801 9

The Post Office is not on the face of it an exciting subject, though it has long been a favourite both of historians and jokers. Its controversies have been, until recent years, largely internal affairs, sustained by reconciling arguments between it, the Postmaster General, the Treasury, the Admiralty (over shipping subsidies), and any other government departments on which its protean activities have abated. On the side of personalities the Post Office generated a series of titans, but their names have all been enveloped in the deep shadow of Rowland Hill, its patron saint.

The story of the Post Office since 1840 is quite central not only to our social history, but also to an understanding of how an indispensable national service was perceived, was created, and grew up, gathering to itself an extraordinary range of accretions, until an octopus of functions had come into being under the dual impetus of welfare and technology. Through it all, however, the post has been the primary function. Though it has always had its problems, it is now caught up in the syndrome of labour intensity, rising wages, staff shortages and/or public unwillingness to bear heavier charges, out of which the only

Travellers' tales

The British and the Grand Tour
by Jeremy Black
Croom Helm, £19.95
ISBN 0 7099 3257 X

The conventional image of the grand tour is essentially a romantic and escapist one. Elegant aristocrats are pictured in stylized poses, appreciating the glories of classical Rome or the awesome splendours of nature in a fashion suggestive of a determination to enrich the mind while diverting the senses. Jeremy Black is determined to get behind the image to the reality of foreign travel in the 18th century.

His book is based not only upon a wide range of printed sources, but on an impressive and comprehensive selection of private correspondence and unpublished materials. The diversity of tourist expectations and responses is therefore vividly brought to life. Fortunately Dr Black does not impose a false uniformity upon the reactions of British tourists to foreign countries. He allows a wealth of detail to convey the variety which was so marked a

feature of the response of British travellers to cultures different from their own.

The primary impression is of the hardship and even danger which were almost invariably associated with foreign travel. Dr Black writes sympathetically and imaginatively about the perils of being becalmed at sea or caught in a storm, the universal fear of the sea, and the agonies of sea-sickness and nausea. Nor does he ignore what had to be endured once the trials of the sea voyage had been overcome: dysentery caused by tainted water or infected food, discomfort from fleas, lice, damp beds, crowded inns and broken carriages, and harassment from brigands or unscrupulous and devious guides. If many tourists seemed merely to rush from one large city to another they had little alternative to doing so, given the badness of the roads, or the miseries inflicted by winter frosts and spring thaws or by the confusion and bewilderment provoked by strange languages or local dialects. It was not surprising that for many British travellers visits to Europe meant primarily trips to Paris or the major Italian cities, with occasional excursions to the Low Countries, Switzerland or Germany. Relatively few went to Norway or Denmark, Russia or Sweden, Spain or Greece. Once he has established the often

brutal facts about 18th-century travel Dr Black goes on to discuss a wide range of topics. Foreign tours confirmed the prejudices of British travellers much more often than they eroded them. Experiences in France, Italy and Southern Germany often inflamed conventional Protestant suspicions about the Catholic Church and its apparent association with absolutism and superstition. But Dr Black progressed. Audiences with the Pope were no longer thought to be indicative of Jacobite or Catholic sympathies, and a growing number of tourists seemed to make a distinction between the urbanity of the higher Catholic clergy and the simplicity of the peasantry.

Dr Black also insists on the superficiality of tourist responses to forms of government in France, Germany, Austria and Italy. Most Britons assumed that absolutism was widespread, and even where it was not they thought that Europeans were as prone to lapse into corruption or priestly domination as they were willing to accept monarchy or absolutism. The subtle interplay between monarchical centralism and aristocratic pluralism was wholly beyond the grasp of most tourists. Only in a minority of cases did foreign travel broaden the mind. Trips to Europe made most Englishmen even

more convinced of the virtues of Protestantism and the liberties which they enjoyed under the English Constitution.

Those who defended the grand tour were fond of emphasizing the educational and cultural benefits of tourism, but Dr Black points out that foreign travel was frequently criticized as essentially superficial and potentially corrupting. He discusses music and the theatre, painting and sculpture, architecture and transport and deals sensibly with questions of sexual activity, health, and social manners. As the popularity of foreign travel grew so did the social background from which the tourists came, and what had once been defended on educational grounds came to be accepted as a valid leisure pursuit. Touring could be costly, dangerous, and uncertain. Dr Black has done much to enable us to see the foreign travel through contemporary eyes, and his enjoyable book underlines Joseph Cradock's good sense when in his *Memoirs* he commented, "Foreign Travel is knowledge to a wise man, and folly to a fool".

John Derry

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tragic consequences were the Turkish treatment of their Armenian subjects, and National Socialist Germany's murder of the Jews. A book on European refugees needs to bear in mind the proportion of horror, difficult as this undoubtedly is. The post-1945 period similarly is only briefly treated. The account of the persecution of the Jews, however, provides a welcome synthesis of recent scholarly conclusions and this section is one of the best in the book. Also well told are the earlier efforts of the League of Nations and especially the remarkable contribution of Fridtjof Nansen.

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Robin Clifton

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A puritan's ethic

Wallington's World: a puritan vision in seventeenth-century London
by Paul S. Seaver
Methuen, £28.00
ISBN 0 416 40530 4

Nicholas Wallington was an obscure London craftsman, a member of a none-too-respectable company of tanners, whose life spanned the last years of Elizabeth to the death of Cromwell, 1598 to 1658. Two facts make him a minor tradesman an important figure: he was a puritan, one of the army of rank-and-file godly artisans who were the backbone of the movement; and he filled endless notebooks with observations, jottings, extracts from sermons and pamphlets, copies of letters and long passages of self-examination. Fifty books in all, amounting to 20,000 pages.

The leaders of the puritan movement have been extensively studied, the indefatigable preachers and their pious patrons among the gentry, but these notebooks enable us to look into the mind of a puritan of much lower social rank, one of those whose numbers helped make the preachers and patrons such a force. Wallington was of course not wholly "average" - quite apart from his unusual compulsion to write and to keep records, he lived his entire life in one London parish, followed his father's trade, was married and made freeman early in life, and was rather unworldly and not very successful in business. In essentials, however, his notebooks open up the world of the godly London artisan in the 17th century, and show how far men of his stamp had accepted basic puritan positions set out by the preachers.

The notebooks reveal in Wallington, as a young man, a literally dead-end life. He made 10 attempts at suicide, prompted by a desperate sense of hopelessness in general, and of just for nothing in particular. At one point he wrote of the "reformation of life", a list which eventually grew to 77. Intended to be read through in full at least once a week, the articles were to be enforced by a graded series of fines paid into the poor box, a farthing for sleeping in on Sunday for example, but the full rate of two pence for offences "which dishonoured God". Wallington's capacity for sin however soon out-distanced his ability to pay, and this scheme for self-discipline was abruptly terminated.

This formidable religious zeal did not lead to economic success. Not one of Wallington's fifty notebooks contains any financial accounts, and so confused were his finances even as a mature craftsman that a dishonest journeyman was able to relieve him of fifty pounds a year for two years without the loss being noticed. Though fully sharing the puritan conviction that he should labour diligently in his calling, Wallington fully appreciated, in Dr Seaver's words, that the purpose of his activity was "not to gain riches, but to be profitable and useful to oneself and one's family". For Wallington politics was an area where religious considerations were decisive. To him the keynote of the 1630s was not any increase in royal power, but the appalling growth in idolatry sponsored by the prelates; and Charles I lost his title to the kingdom, as far as this tradesman was concerned, when evidence grew of royal complicity with the murderous papist Irish rebels, after the rebellion of 1641.

By making generally available the substance of this puritan thinker's thinking on a wide range of issues - economics, social life, religion, politics - Dr Seaver has performed an admirable service. Readers not familiar with the arcane world of puritan beliefs will find most useful his brief but effective juxtapositions of views promulgated by the preachers with Wallington's own observations on the same subjects. Overall, the book substantiates its author's contention that "puritanism created, for a brief moment, a minority religious culture that joined together a craftsman and a husbandman, minister and gentleman".

BOOKS

Chaucer's narrative

The Canterbury Tales
by Derek Pearsall
Allen & Unwin, £25.00 and £9.95
ISBN 0 04 800021 3 and 800037 X

Appreciation of *The Canterbury Tales* is now at an interesting crossroads. Like all major poems it has been subjected to many passing critical fashions and it was time that these were put into perspective.

The whole nature and contents of the poem have been brought into question by recent work on the textual and manuscript tradition, of which the Variorum edition which is now under way is one expression. Briefly, recent research has shown that the Hengwrt manuscript contains a better text and is closer to Chaucer's original than the Ellesmere manuscript, which is the basis of almost all modern editions. Since criticism of the poem has been based on those editions using Ellesmere, the new textual studies call much of it into question. It is therefore very welcome to have a book at this time by one of the foremost English scholars.

Have the new textual studies had much impact on this work? In one important way they have, for they have emphasized that the order of the tales differs in various manuscripts. The poem consists of a collection of fragments which occur in the manuscripts in arbitrary orders. Discussions of the unity of the work or the order of its parts are out of place. Professor Pearsall does not treat the tales in the order in which they occur in most editions; he groups the individual tales into various genres. This means that there is greater focus on each tale, but at the same time the fragmentary nature of the collection and the apparently haphazard way in which it was put together have meant that in the book far less attention is devoted to the relation between tale and teller. One might guess that this book signals the end of studies on the unity of the poem following the tales in the Ellesmere order.

In other ways the new textual studies have not impinged so much on this book. Pearsall gives a long analysis with copious illustrations of the superiority of the Hengwrt text to that in Ellesmere. It is consequently surprising to find that all his quotations are from an Ellesmere-based edition. His reminders of the behaviour of the pardoner, who first reveals the shoddiness of his wares and then tries to pass them off as genuine. It is also surprising that Pearsall tries to justify some of the readings in Ellesmere even though his evidence appears to be against them. He shows conclusively that Ellesmere has a text which has ironed out the rougher original language and

metre of Hengwrt, but when in Ellesmere the Squire's Prologue is said to be metrically superior to Hengwrt, this shows in contrast to all his other examples that Ellesmere is here better than Hengwrt. Finally, it should be said that Pearsall tries to accommodate both the Hengwrt and Ellesmere readings by suggesting that the poem was constantly revised by Chaucer. Though this may be so, insufficient information is given about these assumed versions, and it is never made clear which version Pearsall is primarily using. Readers may find it difficult to know which *Canterbury Tales* they are dealing with.

The principal concern of the book is with the narrative structure of each tale. To some extent this is determined by the genre to which the tale belongs and the expectations which that sets up. In analysing narrative structure Pearsall exhibits his wide reading in medieval literature and modern scholarship. He is robust in his dismissal of those critics who read the poem somewhat mechanically and with modern prejudices. In particular he has a field day in routing those who would read irony in all parts of the poem so that it can be made to be all things to all men. Many scholars will find this refreshing, but undergraduates may find this constant rebuttal tiresome in the end because so many of the readings criticized will not be familiar to them.

Pearsall is at his best in bringing some sense and a humane intellect to bear on the structure of the tales. Every reader of this book will find much that will strike a responsive chord. However, it is not a book which approaches the language and style of individual passages closely, for it deals with the wider issues of plot. Hence one does not find insightful commentaries on short passages so much as sensitive discussions of how the stories are put together and what the purpose of this structure is.

Although not notable for its subtle *apertus*, the book is written in a pregnant style which contains many apt and memorable utterances. It is likely to keep examiners happy for years to come. Consider, for example, "The illusion that Chaucer creates in the frame narrative is so compelling that there is a constant temptation to take the illusion for reality, to assume that the tales are incompletely naturalistic merely because they are incomplete"; or "The links are a series of opportunities seized rather than elements in a grand design". This is a lively book which will surely remain the standard critical text for many years to come.

N. F. Blake

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Xie Kilchin, a photograph by Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (Lewis Carroll) taken around 1873. It is reproduced in a new book by Roy Flukinger, *The Formative Decades: photography in Great Britain 1839-1920* (University of Texas Press, \$15.95).

Liberal humanism

The Subject of Tragedy: identity and difference in Renaissance drama
by Catherine Belsey
Methuen, £13.95 and £6.95
ISBN 0 416 32700 1 and 32710 9

The Subject of Tragedy is offered as "a contribution to that rearrangement of our knowledge which signals the end of the reign of man". This compact formula comprehends the claim of post-structuralist linguistics that language not man is the source of meaning. The anxious and anxious and conflicting perspectives which are written from Lacan, and of course the feminist revolt against patriarchy.

This is a committed book which may go some way to converting the uncommitted. Those who normally approach feminist, Marxist and post-structuralist criticism with timidity, alarm or aggressive/defensive belligerence may find themselves reading Catherine Belsey with interest and profit. Although she uses the specialized vocabulary of modern critical theory, she writes with a clarity and zest which

can carry along even an uninitiated reader. Those particularly who know her earlier introductory book, *Critical Practice*, will have little difficulty following her argument.

English Renaissance drama, in Belsey's view, is valuable as it illustrates the emergence of the subjective individualism characteristic of the liberal humanist era. The instability and internal contradictions in meaning to be found in the transition from an older pre-Renaissance scheme of differences which it has been the project of liberal humanism to suppress. Thus there are three chapters in which the ideas of unity, knowledge and autonomy within man's world are shown in process of change in the period from the mid-16th to the mid-17th century. These are followed by three chapters devoted to women in which the issues of marriage and divorce, of speech and silence, and woman's place in a male-dominated society are investigated in the same period. The anxious and anxious and conflicting perspectives which are written into the Renaissance texts, are used to undermine the assumptions of unity and harmony which become the liberal humanist orthodoxy of the late 17th century and beyond.

Liberal humanism, with its emphasis on the freedom of the subject, its Whig view of history, its "classical realism" in art, its support for bourgeois economic and bourgeois politics, is the arch-villain of this book. Belsey is aware of the risk of oversimplification here: "there are . . . dangers in collapsing the historical specificities and the ideological differences of three centuries into a single term. Liberal humanism is not an unchanging, homogenous, unified essence." And yet for much of her study she treats it as though it were.

One of the problems with this sort of "collapse of historical specificities" emerges in her treatment of earlier literary criticism. Her own approach to literature together with that of other contemporary post-structuralists (whose work she knows well and generously acknowledges) is constantly contrasted with the traditions which preceded it. But frequently the implied norm against which her analysis is constructed appears to be a naive character-based interpretation of literature which has scarcely been current since the early 20th century. It is significant that in a very full bibliography she can find no room for virtually any of the outstanding critics of Renaissance drama between the 1930s and the 1970s. No mention, therefore, of the work of L. C. Knights, G. Wilson Knight or Muriel Bradbrook;

no mention either of a much more recent (and relevant) book such as John Bayley's *Shakespeare and Tragedy*. In *Critical Practice* Catherine Belsey speaks of post-structuralism as a "Copernican revolution" in criticism. In that view all earlier critics tend to be grouped together as antiquated and undifferentiated followers of Ptolemy. Belsey is an intelligent reader and there is much to learn from *The Subject of Tragedy*. She knows her period well and ranges widely over texts both fictional and non-fictional with illuminating juxtapositions. She does not limit herself to written texts, in fact, and her decoding of architecture and painting is used to support her reading of language. Her account of the divorce debates of 16th and 17th-century England is of particular interest to those of us who live in late 20th-century Ireland where such debates continue with full public urgency.

Her interpretation of the Renaissance plays themselves, however, though generally perceptive, is not really all that unconventional and is limited by its tendentiousness. She describes her book as "mildly polemical"; its rhetoric is indeed mild, but its polemicism is unremitting. Too often this means that a single scene or speech is made to bear a weight of significance in the argument divorced from its textual context. For liberal humanism, with its emphasis on the freedom of the subject, its Whig view of history, its "classical realism" in art, its support for bourgeois economic and bourgeois politics, is the arch-villain of this book. Belsey is aware of the risk of oversimplification here: "there are . . . dangers in collapsing the historical specificities and the ideological differences of three centuries into a single term. Liberal humanism is not an unchanging, homogenous, unified essence." And yet for much of her study she treats it as though it were.

Little by little

From Brown to Bunter: the life and death of the school story
by P. W. Musgrave
Routledge & Kegan Paul, £12.95
ISBN 0 7102 0529 5

Most accounts of English school stories, where they aspire to be more than just impressionist or anecdotal, are either literary or historical in approach. P. W. Musgrave's *From Brown to Bunter* differs from previous studies - and notably from Isabel Quigley's *The Heirs of Tom Brown* (1982) which covers the same ground - in offering a sociological approach. As such it is strong on theory, definition and methodology and covers a vast range of interesting material but does not engage closely with any one text or theme.

Musgrave is concerned with the rise and fall of the school story and considers the issues of its origins and development, the writers and middlemen who produced it or influenced it and the reception of particular examples of it. At each stage he is preoccupied (at times over-preoccupied one could say)

with defining his terms, explaining his methods and reiterating his main findings. The result is an impressively researched book but a less lively and readable one than Isabel Quigley's. By relating the school stories to a number of contexts and possible influences, Musgrave is able to show how and why the genre developed in the way it did, or at least to offer speculations about it. The main problem is that there is no end to contexts and influences. As Musgrave himself puts it: "In addition to social class, the demographic, economic and military frameworks of British society during the period must be considered in the development of any explanation of changes in the genre". Obviously several books would be needed to do justice to all this and Musgrave, despite his best endeavours, is forced into a good deal of potted information and sketchy summary. Interesting points are made about writers, middlemen and readers, with a wealth of reference to key source material, but most topics inevitably get only the briefest of treatments.

Musgrave's best points concern the importance of school stories during the period 1860-1880 (showing that Farquhar's *Eric* rather than Hughes's *Tom Brown* was the major influence); the significance of Talbot Baines Reed in defining the genre; the importance of distinguishing between the stories written for adults and those for children; and the way in which, during the interwar years, the school story moved towards diversification, standardization and final extinction. For the rest there are too many summaries of stories, trends and influences for easy assimilation together with mere mentions of things which could do with expansion - for example, the different ideas of the child current during the period, and the more extreme criticisms of the genre. Most of the information is welcome but for readers with more literary interests the chief drawback of the book is the treatment of the key texts - *Tom Brown*, *Eric*, *The Fifth Form at St Dominic's*, *Stalky & Co* and *The Loom of Youth*. Musgrave's interests of course are sociological rather than literary critical but his reading of these classic texts in terms of particular categories and plot summary means that more interesting questions about, say, the moral ambivalences, evasions, contradictions and the adult misreadings of childhood contained in school stories (which get good attention in Quigley) are not taken up here. Musgrave's book with its abundance of information and range of reference is an important contribution to the sociological study of children's literature but as well as supplying answers to questions it also points to the need for more detailed work on particular texts and for the consideration of the way specific influences operated in the writing, publishing and reading of the school story.

Anthony Kearney

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reasons, Belsey is determined not to privilege certain dramatic texts as "major works" of a literary canon and she puts them back in their place with all other available forms of discourse of the period - ballads, social conduct manuals, state papers, pamphlets - as equivalent sources of meaning. But *Dr Faustus* or *Macbeth*, *Antony and Cleopatra* or *The Duchess of Malfi* are, to say the least, more complicated forms of discourse and the meanings which emerge from them are equivalently more complicated. In a sense this is conceded by the very subject of the book itself which does centre on Renaissance drama rather than any other feature of the cultural context.

Yet there is an irony in a study which professes to value the plural "writable" text above the merely "readable", to celebrate the radical play of meaning against more controlled and limited interpretation, but which is itself so tightly and purposively disciplined. In all senses of the word, including ones of which she may disapprove, Catherine Belsey has written a very readable book.

Nicholas Grene

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BOOKS

Peasant freedom fighters

Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe: a comparative study
by Terence Ranger
James Currey, £25.00 and £9.95
ISBN 0 85255 000 6 and 001 4
Guns and Rain: guerrillas and spirit mediums in Zimbabwe
by David Lan
James Currey, £19.50 and £8.50
ISBN 0 520 05557 8 and 05589 6

Few would dispute the vital role played by the Rhodesian peasantry in the war to topple the white minority regime and to bring the new state of Zimbabwe into existence. Peasant support for the guerrillas was an essential component of the struggle, reflecting Mao's dictum that the relationship between the sea and the fish. Attempts by the Smith regime to isolate the peasants from the guerrillas by herding the former into concentration camps, "protected villages," failed to break the relationship between the guerrilla fish and the peasant sea. However, while the importance of peasant-guerrilla relations has been widely recognized there has been remarkably little investigation of the exact nature of the relationship and most of what there has been has had its base in ideological assumption rather than empirical study and has consciously or unconsciously adopted the perspective of the articulate leaders of the nationalist movement. Study of the peasant perspective is important not only in understanding the war period but also the development of the post-independence state. By focusing on what it all meant to the peasants themselves these two books make a significant contribution to our understanding of Zimbabwe past and present.

The prime aim of Ranger's book is to present an historically based picture of the development of an overtly radical peasant consciousness which was "highly conducive to mobilization for guerrilla war". From the evidence presented there is little doubt that such consciousness was radical in the conditions in which it operated and was predisposed to be supportive of armed struggle but it was a radicalism of a particular peasant type. At its heart was a profound opposition to the land alienation and the administrative interference in production which had characterized the white ruled state especially since the 1940s. Because of the overwhelming importance of the land question there was sufficient affinity between the peasant perspec-



This nurse and baby were photographed by Robert Frank in South Carolina in 1959. The picture is reproduced in *The Other America: art and the labour movement in the United States* edited by Philip S. Foner and Reinhard Schultz (Journeyman Press, £7.95).

tive and the guerrilla perspective to provide the basis of unified political and military action. Of course the radicalism of the nationalist guerrillas, or at least of their leaders, contained added strands of a socialist and collectivist nature but these were played down or neglected in dealings with the peasants. In the district with which he is most concerned Ranger reports that he "found no evidence to suggest that the guerrillas preached the virtues of collective or even of co-operative farming". These differences have had important ramifications in the postwar period where "despite ZANU's formal commitment to the idea of collectivization it has been manifestly impossible to move towards this goal directly."

If I have reservations about this book they relate to its rather awkward comparative structure which operates on a number of different levels from a micro-study of Mankoni district upwards and outwards to comparisons between the district and Mashonaland, the whole of Zimbabwe and to Kenya and Mozambique. At times it is not at all clear what is being compared with what nor what the basis of comparison is. One wonders if we have two shorter books (one a local level case study and one a broad comparison) struggling to escape from a single text.

No such problems exist for David Lan who concentrates on a single remote area in the north eastern part of the country. As in Ranger's book the theme is peasant-guerrilla relations but in this case the focus is on the role of the spirit mediums in providing a basis of legitimacy for the armed struggle of the guerrillas. Through possession the mediums provide a link with those of the *mhondoro* (royal ancestors) during highly elaborate possession rituals. As government policy had the effect of turning living chiefs into relatively minor civil servants and state functionaries so the

authority of the ancestors became even more crucial and the political role of the mediums who provided the only link with them grew. The reconciliation of the legitimacy of long dead ancestors with that of the guerrillas which the spirit mediums were unique in being able to bring about was based more on anything on the issue of land. Guerrilla enemies of return of ancestral lands stolen by whites were highly compatible with the role of the *mhondoro* spirits in protecting the land for their descendants.

Lan's book is densely packed with fascinating ethnographic detail; if ever a book highlighted the relevance of anthropological research to an understanding of contemporary Africa this is it.

Both books draw on the sympathetic to the aspirations of the nationalist movement but there is a worry that this may hinder the study of the full relationship between peasants and guerrillas in one particular respect. Part of the role of coercion used by the latter. Both books discuss this issue in a couple of lines even though Lan remarks that the guerrillas "were frequently involved in the punishment or the execution of villagers". Although this is a topic which may embarrass the present government of Zimbabwe and even perhaps scholars broadly sympathetic to that Government its omission does impair what in most other respects are quite excellent books.

Finally, I should like to give a warm welcome to the new James Currey imprint devoted to the publishing of works on Africa. At a time when other publishing houses are pulling in their horns it is a brave, but I hope not foolhardy, enterprise.

John A. Wiseman

Dr Wiseman is lecturer in politics at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Soviet military roles

Red Army and Society: a sociology of the Soviet military
by Ellen Jones
Allen & Unwin, £18.00
ISBN 0 04 322011 8

Ellen Jones's well-researched study of the Soviet military makes a useful contribution to the understanding of this important institution and its role in Soviet society. She provides a detailed description of Soviet military manpower, which is the focus of her research, and clarifies important questions about the role played by a large conscript army in an increasingly urbanized and educated society.

The distinction between the internal and external relations of the armed forces also reflects those aspects of Soviet military manpower policy which have perpetuated tsarist practices and those which are post-revolutionary innovations. For example, current practice continues the long established tradition of peacetime conscription designed to sustain a large standing army and to provide a strong basis for the mobilization of reserves. To this the Bolsheviks added their own political priorities geared to exploiting the armed forces as a means of social transformation, thereby making the army into a "school for life" as well as a "school for reservists".

Of the various problems identified in this book which arise in running a conscript army three seem especially important. First, the biannual cycle of conscription and demobilization, coupled with the two-year tour of duty, confronts the professional core of the Soviet armed forces with an awesome problem related to the uncertain authority of the conscripted sergeant whose loyalty is divided between his superiors and his fellow conscripts. Thirdly, this problem is compounded by the historical absence of a corps of professional NCOs, a weakness current policy is seeking to remedy. If it is the case that sergeants run the Red Army, as they are supposed to do elsewhere, all this adds up to a potentially serious discipline problem which may be expressed in the degree of unofficial dependence on bullying and the persistence of harsh disciplinary and physical regimes which western armies have mostly abandoned. While all these questions are individually raised and informatively discussed in Ellen Jones's study, she does not seem to consider their collective influence to be as significant as her evidence would appear to suggest.

The analysis of the external relations of the military emphasizes its role as an agency of political socialization and social integration. In spite of western scepticism about the impact of propaganda on the Soviet population in general, Ellen Jones concludes that

political education in the armed forces is largely effective because of the consistency of its substance and the impact of repetition on a captive audience. She makes the point that, "Like the American consumer targeted by a repetitive advertising campaign, the Soviet soldier may not absorb the message." Similarly, the evidence presented here does not support western hypotheses about the disruptive influence of ethnic differences in the Soviet armed forces. Integrated, if not necessarily ethnically balanced, units have been the norm since the Second World War and their deployment outside Soviet borders in Eastern Europe and Afghanistan does not suggest a lack of confidence in their cohesion or reliability.

There are, however, questions that can be asked about the unofficial influence of army life on youthful conscripts which are unlikely to be answered satisfactorily by Soviet published sources, however carefully they are combed. The concern recently expressed in the Soviet press about lack of discipline in the civilian labour force, the male component of which has undergone military training, suggests that the impact of this experience is either short-lived or else capable of creating or reinforcing habits less desirable than those that military training programmes are intended to instil.

The external and internal relations of the military come together most clearly in the role performed by the political officer. Ellen Jones convincingly argues that the fraction often claimed to exist between political officers and military commanders, in consequence of the former's traditional watchdog function, is largely fictional. She points out how the rigorous political vetting of military officers, from virtually the beginning of the Soviet period, pre-empted this function because those recruited to military roles did so little in terms of political reliability from those watching over them. In consequence the emphasis changed from the supervision of command to the supervision of rank.

The cooperative relationship between military commanders and political officers is also examined in the parallel structure of the party and military hierarchies within the Ministry of Defence, an arrangement which distinguishes the military from civilian institutions. Here Ellen Jones makes the important and often unappreciated point that this coincidence has undermined the party's ability to exercise independent political control over the military from within. However, she goes on to suggest that the party's activities within the armed forces are irrelevant to the issue of civil-military conflict although it might be argued equally plausibly that by incorporating a section of the party hierarchy the military has become a more formidable competitor in Soviet politics than institutions which remain subject to independent party supervision.

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Peter Kneen

Dr Kneen is lecturer in politics at the University of Durham.



Ernest Bevin in 1949

cabinet and the Government of South Africa despite the racial policies of the latter. Fear of communism provided much common ground. There was also an interesting convergence of British and American policy in south-east Asia in the late 1940s, with the British at first to the fore in proclaiming the need to make a stand against communism, and in pioneering the famous "domino theory". The United States' commitment to Indo-China began to develop shortly before the Korean War, although even in June 1950 the British chiefs of staff could comment apprehensively: "The front line of the cold war in Asia lies in Indo-China. It that front gives way it is only a matter of time before Siam and Burma fall under communist influence. In that event our difficulties in Malaya would become insuperable..." This book can be recommended to scholars, and also to those students who have a sound basic knowledge of the origins of the cold war and who are thus able to draw full advantage from this largely British-centered view of the years 1945-1951.

C. J. Bartlett

C. J. Bartlett is professor of modern history at the University of Dundee.

BOOKS

Primate harems

Reproductive Decisions: an economic analysis of gelada baboon social strategies
by Robin I. M. Dunbar
Princeton University Press, £43.10 and £15.60
ISBN 0 691 08360 6 and 08361 4

One positive effect of sociobiological concepts is that attempts to explain the evolution of social organization in mammals are increasingly including explicit reference to the reproductive consequences of social behaviour. This influence has gradually filtered through into studies of the social behaviour of non-human primates.

Field studies of primates have tended to neglect reproduction, partly because of practical problems such as the very slow reproductive turnover of all primates, but also because of concentration on other issues, notably the influence of feeding ecology on social patterns. Yet the concept of evolution by natural selection ultimately requires that the selective advantage of particular behavioural activities be explained in terms of differential reproductive success. Hence, any explanatory model for the origin of a set of social behaviour patterns in a given primate species must in due course be assessed on the basis of reproductive benefits.

Although a number of recent accounts of natural primate social behaviour have tackled the problem of differential reproductive success, they have generally been limited to inferential examination of specific aspects - notably the occurrence of "infanticide" in certain species. Robin Dunbar's book on the gelada baboon (*Theropithecus gelada*) does not only relates its social organization to detailed quantitative field data on reproduction. This is a pioneering book that excels through its combination of an

impressive set of field data with meticulous analysis.

Largely thanks to the dedication of two groups of field-workers, one British and one Japanese, the social life of the gelada baboon has been extensively documented. Geladas are primarily terrestrial primates that forage in large, unstructured herds. Within each herd, there are two kinds of basic social units: "harem groups" (reproductive units, each typically containing a single fully adult male, adult females and dependent young); and "bachelor male groups" (containing only independent males). These units are combined into bands of about a hundred individuals sharing a common home range. There is thus a clear distinction between the ecological unit (band), equivalent to the social group defined for other primate species, and the reproductive unit (harem group). Dunbar thus had a considerable advantage, in that data could be collected on differential reproductive success of harems within a band. The gelada also neatly illustrates the fact that the social group defined by feeding ecology may differ greatly from the social group defined by reproduction.

Analysis of the behaviour of individuals within harem groups showed that males and females have different "strategies" and, more importantly, that there are alternative strategies for each sex. Females typically stay within the reproductive unit of their birth. Coalitions, reflected by grooming frequency, are formed by pairs of females, preferentially close relatives (mothers and daughters or, failing that, sisters). A female without a close relative in the unit may form a less beneficial grooming relationship with the harem male. There is a clear dominance hierarchy among females, heavily influenced by such coalitions; and field evidence suggests that breeding success is linked to this hierarchy. Males, by contrast, exhibit two very distinct "strategies". The more spectacular is a direct challenge between an adult male from a bachelor group and a harem male (takeover strategy), and the other is the integration of a maturing male into a harem group, with the development of interactions with immatures and then individual adult females eventually followed by fission of the original harem group (follower strategy). An adult male apparently has only one

opportunity to possess a harem and his tenure is limited. For various reasons the male's control of the harem becomes increasingly unstable - with increasing risks of takeover or fission - as the harem grows in size.

The processes involved, and all of the cost/benefit assessments, depend on the demographic structure of gelada groups. Differences in demographic structure and other variable features open up additional tactical options for both males and females. Females, for example, gain if a harem is reduced in size by fission, since average birth rate is greater in smaller harems. Males, by contrast, gain by maximizing their harem size. There is a complex interacting network with numerous feedback loops, and it is in dealing with this complexity that Dunbar's book shows its greatest strengths. Using a variety of approaches, ranging from simple correlation analysis to the construction and testing of iterative computer models, the author progressively breaks the problem down into manageable pieces and then reassembles these into a convincing synthesis of the ways in which gelada social behaviour is related to the differential reproductive success of individuals.

Because of the complexity of the task, the text does not make for easy reading; but it is well worth the reader's effort to follow the argument through its various stages. For those who wish to explore the matter in more depth, there are useful appendices explaining the computer programs used for certain analytical approaches. One minor drawback stemming from constraints on the size of the book is that the reader will have to refer to original sources to follow up some quite central points (for example, to find information on gestation - which is fundamental to timing of births, but which is mentioned only in passing).

This is a crisply written, elegant book that provides a very useful example of the relationship between social behaviour and reproductive success in a primate species. It will be invaluable to students of primate social behaviour and of primate behaviour.

R. D. Martin

R. D. Martin is professor of physical anthropology at University College London.

Simplex method

Introduction to Linear and Convex Programming
by Neil Cameron
Cambridge University Press, £20.00 and £6.95
ISBN 0 521 30951 4 and 31207 8
Linear Programming: active set analysis and computer programs
by Michael J. Best and Klaus Ritter
Prentice-Hall, £37.40
ISBN 0 13 536996 7

Linear and Non-Linear Programming: an introduction to linear methods in mathematical programming
by Roger Hardy
Ellis Horwood, Wiley, £22.50 and £9.95
ISBN 0 85312 644 5 and 948 0
An Introduction to Linear Programming (second edition)
by G. R. Walsh
Wiley, £13.95
ISBN 0 471 90719 7

At the beginning of August this year, more than 200 people from all over the world attended a celebration in honour of George B. Dantzig's 80th birthday. Dantzig is the originator of the simplex algorithm for the solution of linear programming problems. Without his work and the development of the computer, a different group of people would have attended Dantzig's party, for he is a mathematician who would have made a mark in any field. With the possible exception of Cameron's text, these four books (and many others) about the simplex method and its extensions would not have been written.

Linear programming is used widely in the oil and energy industries for both long-range and day-to-day planning of activities. Other examples of its use are to determine the ingredients of animal feeds, to blend precious metals, to determine the minimum number of buses needed to run a timetable, and to

determine traffic light settings. A linear programming problem is concerned with finding the maximum (or minimum) value of a linear function where the variables are subject to linear constraints. From the underlying theory, it is known that the optimum solution lies on the exterior boundary of the feasible region. The simplex algorithm searches for the optimal point by working its way around the boundary until it finds a point that satisfies the optimality conditions. Theoretically, simplex is a "bad" algorithm - that is, it is an exponential time algorithm, as there exist examples which it solves by inspecting all possible points before deciding on the optimum. When it is used to solve problems with hundreds or even thousands of variables and constraints with a well-designed computer code, however, it is spectacularly good. Indeed, in practice only a small fraction of the possible points are considered before finding the optimum solution.

The field of linear programming has four principal components: theory, applications, algorithms, and computational methods. The books by Best and Ritter, Hartley and Walsh, all of which are intended as course texts, are devoted to algorithms. All three assume that the reader has a basic knowledge of linear algebra, and they approach the underlying theory informally and treat applications summarily. About half of each book is spent on the simplex algorithm, its variants and its immediate extensions, such as bounded variables and parametric analysis.

As a computer code designed to solve problems above classroom size is not based on the tableau method originally used to describe simplex, Hartley's book (aimed at third-year undergraduates in a technical subject) has a chapter about some of the ideas that are used in a linear programming code intended to solve large problems with many variables and constraints. Other chapters deal with multiple-objective, integer and quadratic programming, the chapter on integer programming being about "branch and bound", which despite much research is the only algorithm that has had any

success in routinely solving mixed-integer programming problems. Unfortunately, the text is marred by the fact that the list of references is too brief and there are no references in the text, so that it is impossible to read further on a topic. This difficulty is compounded by the author's style, which could lead an unsuspecting reader to believe that many of the ideas are Hartley's own.

The exciting recent development in linear programming theory was the publication in 1979 of the Shor-Kachyan ellipsoid algorithm which demonstrated that the general linear programming problem is solvable in polynomial time - that is, a linear programming problem is essentially not "hard". However, although the ellipsoid algorithm has desirable theoretical properties, it is terrible computationally, as it takes many iterations to solve a tiny problem. This ellipsoid algorithm, which is quite different from the simplex algorithm, is described in the second half of Walsh's book.

To learn the power and the scope of linear programming, it is essential that a student not only know about algorithms but also that he practice the art of formulating problems. In common with most linear programming texts, however, there are no real applications and formulation exercises in these three books. An excellent text to complete a course on linear programming would be H. P. Williams' *Model Building in Mathematical Programming* (Wiley, second edition, 1985).

One objective of Cameron's book is to introduce mathematicians to optimization as an important branch of applied mathematics. Proceeding from linear algebra to the simplex method, and from there via Fenchel transformations to duality theory in non-linear programming, the text presents clearly the mathematical arguments. Indeed, for those with an interest in learning the mathematical background, it is well worth considering.

Susan Powell

Susan Powell is lecturer in operational research at the London School of Economics.

Making waves

Oscillations and Waves
by R. Buckley
Adam Hilger, £2.95
ISBN 0 85274 793 4

As one of a new series of short monographs intended for first-year undergraduates in the physical sciences, this very clearly and concisely written book makes beautiful use of simple oscillators, coupled oscillators and many degree-of-freedom systems to build up a picture of the properties of wave-supporting continuous systems: the string, one-dimensional sound waves, and water waves. It is a splendid contribution, covering in only 50 pages a fundamentally important topic that every engineering undergraduate should know.

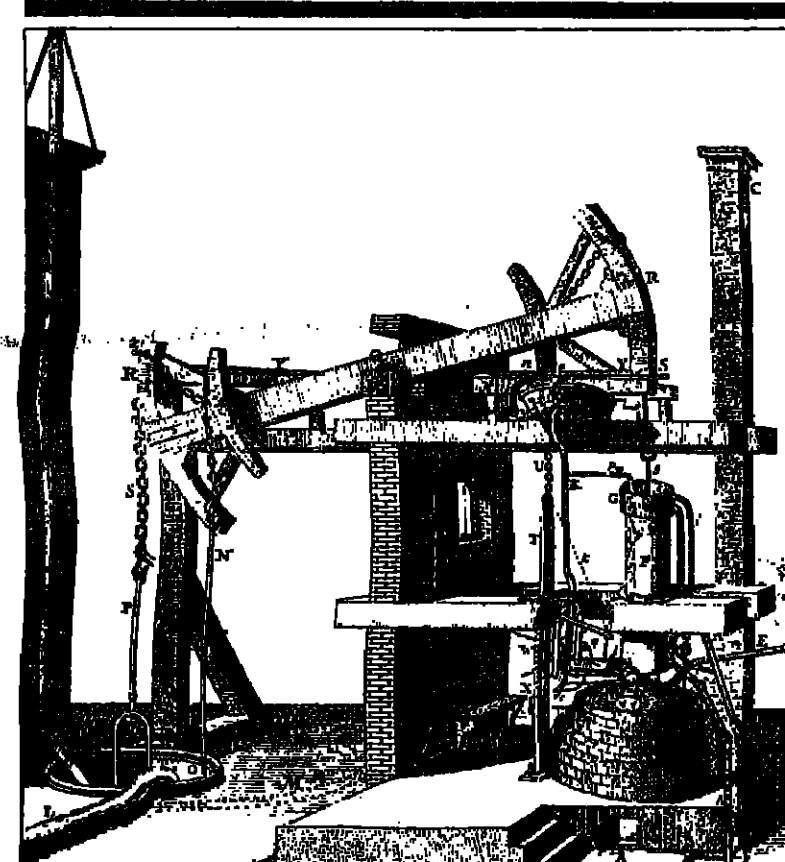
Buckley makes good use of diagrams and very clear expressions of principle to guide the reader through a host of difficult ideas. For example, he has a lovely habit of telling the reader how to check algebraic expressions for reasonableness and points out how to recognize in more complicated problems the essential ingredients of simpler cases. You might not think that

waves are best approached from the viewpoint of coupled oscillators, but it would be hard to imagine the approach more clearly expressed than it is here. Again, Hooke's law may not be a strict requirement for wave motion on a string, but it certainly does no harm. Beginning with the simple pendulum, the book progresses to the case of two identical pendula coupled through a spring. Linear analysis is followed by a non-linear treatment, the effects of damping are explained for the simplest case, and the chapter concludes with a discussion of forced oscillations and resonance effects. Chapter two moves quickly to the coupled motions of many identical systems and introduces wave ideas before proceeding to the continuous limit of infinitely many, infinitely fine elements making up a string.

In chapter three, on waves on a stretched string, the author's description unfortunately implies that stretching is a significant part of the problem. Tensioned string might have been a better description. Finally, chapters four and five, on sound waves and water waves, contain non-trivial examples that illustrate clearly the beauty of the subject.

J. E. Ffowcs Williams

J. E. Ffowcs Williams is Rank professor of engineering at the University of Cambridge.



This early 18th-century engraving depicts the Newcomen steam engine, which harnessed the weight of the atmosphere to do its work - condensing steam in the cylinder creating a partial vacuum under the piston. Newcomen engines pumped water from the mines in England for 50 years before being replaced by Watt's double-acting steam engines. From John W. Lyons's *Fire* (Freeman, £15.95).

Fish hormones

Fish Endocrinology
by A. J. Matty
Croom Helm, £22.50
ISBN 0 7099 1729 5

The study of fish hormones has expanded greatly since its beginning around the turn of the century. Nowadays most research is directed towards understanding the role of hormones in regulating processes such as growth and reproduction in commercially important species, especially those that are cultured - for example, trout, salmon, carp, and *Tilapia*. Indeed, the final chapters of Alan Matty's short introduction to this field discuss how our present knowledge - for example, of the hormonal control of sex differentiation - is being applied to the development of fish farming.

The book covers in fairly general terms the endocrine glands of fishes, the hormones they secrete, and the biological actions of those hormones - subject-matter which surprisingly has not been covered before in a single publication. Although it is intended

mainly for "students of aquaculture, fish farming, fisheries and fish biology", for whom it is ideally suited, research workers in this or a related field could also learn much from it.

One of the major difficulties in writing such a general book is in providing a balanced account of often equivocal research findings. Indeed, there is a temptation either to report most of the research findings, which often swamps and hence confuses the reader, who is left not knowing established facts from mere speculation; or alternatively to be selective, which too often produces a biased view. Matty, however, succeeds in presenting a very balanced synopsis; if the reader is interested in following up any particular aspect in more detail, about 50 carefully-selected references are provided for each chapter. In general, the book is well written in an easy and enjoyable style; and there are ample figures and tables to supplement the text. The illustrations are well chosen, often from the original literature.

I can strongly recommend this book to the audience for whom it is intended.

John Sumpter

John Sumpter is lecturer in the department of applied biology at Brunel University.

Labour's cold war

The English-Speaking Alliance: Britain, the United States, the Dominions and the Cold War 1945-51
by Ritchie Owendale
Allen & Unwin, £20.00
ISBN 0 04 327078 6

In the last few years our knowledge of British foreign policy under Labour between 1945 and 1951 has been transformed by the publication of a number of major monographs. Ritchie Owendale, in *The English-Speaking Alliance*, adds another informative work to this list. Although he covers some familiar ground, notably in Europe and the Middle East, there is much useful new material, especially on the Far East and South Africa. His book also has the singular merit of discussing within one volume the formulation of British cold war policies in the context of exchanges with the United States and the independent white members of the Commonwealth. He has consulted manuscript sources in Australia, and South Africa, as well as an impressive range of

British and American records. A remarkable amount of information has been compressed into fewer than 300 pages of text. Indeed, the author seems reluctant to leave anything out, so that the analysis is sometimes almost lost amid the detail. Nevertheless it is convenient to have a digest of so much documentation, and from this there emerges the essentials of many of the major controversies between ministers and between government departments. There is, for instance, further confirmation that Attlee had ideas of his own on foreign affairs, notably over the Middle East where he fought a lengthy rearguard action until persuaded by Bevin, the chiefs of staff, and by the course of events that it was more perilous for Britain to quit than to stay.

There was a briefer, yet still fascinating exchange early in 1951 when Bevin - and later Hugh Gaitskelli - opposed John Strachey's argument that American policy was taking so dangerous a course that, at least with respect to Asia, Britain might have to make a public avowal of independence. Bevin retorted that more safety was to be found in cooperation with and in efforts to influence and restrain the "independent colossus". Quite as much as Churchill, and Macmillan, Bevin believed that Washington was often in need of guidance from Britain

- a nation steeped in the mysteries of international statecraft. Yet however patronizing the British attitude, Bevin and his colleagues were happier dealing with Washington than with the western Europeans. By 1950 Bevin was disposed to do no more in Europe than was necessary to satisfy the United States and to meet British interests. What must remain controversial is just how much influence Britain actually had on American policy-making, and the merits of the advice given.

Bevin's name continues to be cherished in the Foreign Office, and with good reason. As Professor Peiling notes, this was Attlee's "most important" appointment in 1945, for had Bevin gone to the Treasury he had have carried more weight than Hugh Dalton, for instance, had he chosen to side with those who thought Britain over-committed abroad. But just as Treasury policy in the era of appeasement was among the last to receive serious attention from historians, so still await a comprehensive analysis of its postwar attitude to Britain's overseas roles. Nevertheless, if Ritchie Owendale does not advance our knowledge here, he makes many useful references to the thinking of the chiefs of staff and the armed forces. Instructive, too, are the insights he provides into the relations between a Labour

Universities continued

The University of Papua New Guinea Port Moresby

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the following posts:

LECTURER/ SENIOR LECTURER IN MICROBIOLOGY (Biology Department)

W081006/85

Applicants should hold a Ph.D. or equivalent and have experience in research and teaching in microbiology. The successful applicant will be expected to contribute to the development of first year biology research in this field. Experience in a developing country would be an advantage.

LECTURER/ SENIOR LECTURER IN PHYSICS W131003/85

Candidates should hold a Ph.D. in experimental physics with research experience in renewable energy. The Department has a wide range of meteorological and solar radiation equipment. The successful applicant will be expected to contribute to the development of first year physics research in this field. Experience in a developing country would be an advantage.

Salaries: Senior Lecturer - \$21,250 p.a., Lecturer - \$17,500 p.a., plus gratuity. Other conditions: The successful applicant will normally be offered a house and a car. A wide range of meteorological and solar radiation equipment is available. The successful applicant will be expected to contribute to the development of first year physics research in this field. Experience in a developing country would be an advantage.

Applications will be treated as strictly confidential and should include a full curriculum vitae, a recent photograph and the names and addresses of three referees. In order to expedite the appointment process, applicants are advised to send their curriculum vitae and three referees' names to the University of Papua New Guinea, P.O. Box 350, Port Moresby, by 11 January 1986. Candidates in the UK should also send a copy of their applications to the Secretary of Commonwealth Universities (Appointments), 100, Strand, London WC2R 0ET.

University of Durham School of Education

LECTURESHIP IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Applications are invited for the post of Lecturer in Early Childhood Education (14-18 years) in the School of Education from 1st April 1986. The person appointed will join the primary team and will be concerned with the initial teacher training of PGCE (Primary Course) students. The successful applicant should be a graduate with a degree in Education, Research and/or Educational Studies. The post is full-time and involves a salary of £7,800 p.a. plus gratuity.

The initial salary will be £7,800 p.a. plus gratuity. The successful applicant will be expected to contribute to the development of first year education research in this field. Experience in a developing country would be an advantage.

Applications (three copies), including curriculum vitae and three referees, should be sent to the Secretary of Education, University of Durham, Old Elvet, Durham, by 11 January 1986. Candidates in the UK should also send a copy of their applications to the Secretary of Commonwealth Universities (Appointments), 100, Strand, London WC2R 0ET.

The University of New England Australia

Equal Opportunity is University Policy

LECTURER Centre for Administrative and Higher Education Studies

The Centre is concerned with research and teaching in the field of administrative and higher education studies. The successful applicant will be expected to contribute to the development of first year administrative and higher education research in this field. Experience in a developing country would be an advantage.

LECTURER SENIOR LECTURER IN PHYSICS W131003/85

Candidates should hold a Ph.D. in experimental physics with research experience in renewable energy. The Department has a wide range of meteorological and solar radiation equipment. The successful applicant will be expected to contribute to the development of first year physics research in this field. Experience in a developing country would be an advantage.

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National University of Lesotho

PROFESSOR/ SENIOR LECTURER/ LECTURER IN CURRICULUM STUDIES

Applications are invited for the following positions from suitably qualified candidates:

Minimum qualification is an M.A. in Education. The appointee will teach Curriculum Studies in English (English Language Teaching, Curriculum Studies and related courses in the Department).

Applications (three copies), including curriculum vitae and three referees, should be sent to the Secretary of Education, University of Durham, Old Elvet, Durham, by 11 January 1986. Candidates in the UK should also send a copy of their applications to the Secretary of Commonwealth Universities (Appointments), 100, Strand, London WC2R 0ET.

The University of Papua New Guinea Port Moresby

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the following posts:

LECTURER/ SENIOR LECTURER IN THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY W081006/85

Applicants should hold a Ph.D. in the History of Science and Technology. The successful applicant will be expected to contribute to the development of first year history of science and technology research in this field. Experience in a developing country would be an advantage.

LECTURER SENIOR LECTURER IN PHYSICS W131003/85

Candidates should hold a Ph.D. in experimental physics with research experience in renewable energy. The Department has a wide range of meteorological and solar radiation equipment. The successful applicant will be expected to contribute to the development of first year physics research in this field. Experience in a developing country would be an advantage.

Salaries: Senior Lecturer - \$21,250 p.a., Lecturer - \$17,500 p.a., plus gratuity. Other conditions: The successful applicant will normally be offered a house and a car. A wide range of meteorological and solar radiation equipment is available. The successful applicant will be expected to contribute to the development of first year physics research in this field. Experience in a developing country would be an advantage.

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University of London

CHAIR OF INFORMATION SYSTEMS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

The Senate invite applications for the above Chair from those working in the areas of information systems and political science.

Applications (10 copies) should be submitted to the Secretary of Education, University of London, 100, Strand, London WC2R 0ET, by 11 January 1986. Candidates in the UK should also send a copy of their applications to the Secretary of Commonwealth Universities (Appointments), 100, Strand, London WC2R 0ET.

Applications (three copies), including curriculum vitae and three referees, should be sent to the Secretary of Education, University of Durham, Old Elvet, Durham, by 11 January 1986. Candidates in the UK should also send a copy of their applications to the Secretary of Commonwealth Universities (Appointments), 100, Strand, London WC2R 0ET.

University of the West Indies Mona

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the following posts:

LECTURER/ SENIOR LECTURER IN THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY W081006/85

Applicants should hold a Ph.D. in the History of Science and Technology. The successful applicant will be expected to contribute to the development of first year history of science and technology research in this field. Experience in a developing country would be an advantage.

LECTURER SENIOR LECTURER IN PHYSICS W131003/85

Candidates should hold a Ph.D. in experimental physics with research experience in renewable energy. The Department has a wide range of meteorological and solar radiation equipment. The successful applicant will be expected to contribute to the development of first year physics research in this field. Experience in a developing country would be an advantage.

Salaries: Senior Lecturer - \$21,250 p.a., Lecturer - \$17,500 p.a., plus gratuity. Other conditions: The successful applicant will normally be offered a house and a car. A wide range of meteorological and solar radiation equipment is available. The successful applicant will be expected to contribute to the development of first year physics research in this field. Experience in a developing country would be an advantage.

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